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NEED TO INCREASE COMPETIVENESS DISCUSSED

AU090835 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 2 Nov 84 p 2

[Excerpts] An international scientific conference was held at the Academy of Social Sciences and Social Administration of the BCP Central Committee on 30 and 31 October 1984. It dealt with changes in the production structures in the world and in the People's Republic of Bulgaria. Prominent scientists from the GDR, the USSR, the Hungarian People's Republic, the CSSR, and Bulgaria took part. Naturally, the talks expanded the scope of the theme and without claiming any categorical definition, we would give the conference the title "Searching for New Roads in World Economy.

Prof Dr Lyubomir Andreev: "In his preelection speech Konstantin Chernenko, secretary general of the CPSU Central Committee, characterized the present economic and industrial structures as obsolete, and described the prospects for their renewal as a strategic issue. The complex tasks to be accomplished by our society impose a transition toward a qualitatively new material-technological base, corresponding to developed socialism and guaranteeing the implementation of the tasks connected with the material satisfaction of the needs and the comprehensive development of the personality. From an international point of view, the implementation of the scientific-technological revolution in organic linkage with the social revolution is necessary not only in order to oppose attacks on the part of the capitalist countries, but to continue the victorious march of the international revolutionary process. The further development of real socialism as the only system that provides a solution to mankind's comprehensive problems, and one who can put this solution into effect, is closely connected with the workers' movement in the capitalist countries. There is also another powerful stream -- the national liberation movement in the Third World countries. However, these countries have not undergone an industrial revolution, and most of them are under the direct influence of the developed capitalist countries. At the present stage the structural revolution in the capitalist world is turning the Third World countries into another adjunct and the greater area of economic exploitation. Therefore, one of the basic tasks of the scientific-technological revolution in the socialist community states is to create conditions for successful competition with the capitalist countries, so that we can oust them in the economic sector from the so-called Third World and turn the Third World into an active ally of ours in overcoming the capitalist international division of labor."

There is only one kind of tactics for implementing the structural revolution -- quick change. Experience to date in administering the economy in individual socialist countries convincingly proves that excessive centralization in administration national economy administration has exhausted its possibilities. It does not encourage the subjective factor of renewing production structures by means of accelerated intensification in developing production capacities on the basis of scientific and technological progress.

Structural changes, however, require huge capital investments, the unification of "grey matter," with production potential and capital, and so forth. The questions thus arise: Is it possible to create international socialist corporations? Is this justifiable?

Prof Dr Lyubomir Andreev: "Internationalization is a general process of adapting production relations to the dynamic and gigantic character of developing the production capacities. Capital, in essence, is international. In recent decades it has built up powerful international corporations that create conditions for solving the problems connected with the scientific-technological revolution, monopolization of profits, and relative stabilization.

"We are now entering a direct struggle against monopolistic capitalism. The question of competitiveness is becoming especially acute, as Comrade Todor Zhivkov has stressed in his lectures. With the exception of the USSR, however, no socialist country can solve this question alone. The task, therefore, is for the socialist countries to create international corporations that correspond to capitalist production capacities and that can even outdo the capitalist corporations in their ability and degree of socialization, and thus successfully compete with them on international markets and oust them from the positions they have achieved."

BRIEFS

STATISTICS COMMISSION MEETING -- The 42nd meeting of the permanent CEMA commission for cooperation in the field of statistics ended in Berlin on Friday with the signing of a protocol. The 4-day meeting was attended by delegations of all CEMA member-countries, representatives of the SFRY, and as guest, a representative of the ECE. The meeting, which was chaired by Arno Donda, head of the Central Administration for Statistics of the GDR, discussed tasks of the commission in implementing the decisions of the economic meeting of the CEMA member-countries on a highest level in June this year and adopted the corresponding stipulations. The heads of the delegation were received by Gerhard Weiss, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and permanent GDR representative to CEMA. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27-28 Oct 84 p 3 AU]

COMPUTER CONFERENCE -- The statewide conference Microsystem-84 on microcomputer systems and on the utilization of mircocomputers in teaching and microprogrammable systems ended in Bratislava on 25 October. The conference was attended by more than 370 participants from the USSR, as well as by guests from Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Cuba, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, and the USSR. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Oct 84 p 2 AU]

MATHEMATICS CONGRESS -- The Congress of the Union of Czechoslovak Mathematicians and Physicists, attended by experts from Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, and the USSR, ended on 27 October in Gottwaldov. The congress adopted a program of work up to 1987. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 29 Oct 84 p 2 AU]

CONFERENCE ON SCIENCE POLICY -- Budapest, October 11 (MTI) -- "Scientific foundations and strategy of the CMEA countries' science policy in the 1980s", an international conference was organized by the Institute of Research Organization and the Sociology Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest from October 8 to 11. The conference which was attended by delegates from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Poland, the Soviet Union, Cuba and Hungary, discussed general theoretical and sociological questions of science and technology, on the basis of a research theme of the CMEA Technical-Scientific Cooperation Committee. The conference adopted a workplan of cooperation for the next five years. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1726 GMT 11 Oct 84 LD]

MEXICO CEMA EXHIBIT -- Deputy Premier Janusz Obodowski is visiting Mexico in connection with an exhibition showing the achievement and activities of CEMA. Janusz Obodowski is our country's permanent representative at CEMA. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0100 GMT 9 Nov 84 LD]

ROMANIAN URGES 'STEPPED-UP EFFORTS' AT ACCORD

AU132037 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1953 GMT 13 Nov 84

[Text] Stockholm AGERPRES 13/11/1984 -- During the debates of the Stockholm conference, the Romanian chief delegate reiterated that negotiations should be started as soon as possible so that the conference should contribute by its proceedings and practical results to the consolidation of confidence and security in Europe, meet European peoples' aspirations after disarmament, nuclear-free Europe, a Europe of peace and cooperation among all states, irrespective of their social system.

Stressing that measures to be agreed upon during the current phase of the conference should be a starting point towards setting up an efficient and durable system of peace and security in Europe, the Romanian representative underlined that measures for the limitation and restriction of military activities were very important, especially those measures which affect interstate mutual confidence. Like measures, he said, could better prove states' peaceful intentions and moderation which are essential for the attainment of the conference's target. A spirit of moderation and self-restraint should prevail in all military activities and care should be shown lest these activities be misinterpreted and confidence be undermined.

The speaker urged for stepped-up efforts to work out a first substantial and equilibrated accord in the ensuing months. The accord and other understandings to be reached during the conference should enhance all participant states' confidence and security and pave the way for the implementation of significant disarmament measures in the continent.

Today, the plenary meeting of the conference was presided over by Romania, in keeping with the principle of rotation.

ZHIVKOV 'PREPARED TO START A DIALOGUE' WITH U.S.

AU131910 Sofia BTA in English 1824 GMT 13 Nov 84

[Text] Sofia, November 13 (BTA) -- "We are prepared to start a dialogue on all questions on various levels, hoping that this will help lead Bulgaro-American relations out of their present state", said today Mr Todor Zhivkov, Bulgaria's State Council president, receiving the credentials of Mr Melvyn Levitsky, the newly appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the United States of America. Mr Zhivkov pointed out that certain actions taken by the U.S. have had a negative effect on the bilateral relations which have been making progress during the 70's. The Bulgarian head of state said Bulgaria's desire has always been that her relations with the U.S. correspond to the interests of both countries and that constructive cooperation be promoted in various spheres without preconditions on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

Touching on the international situation, Bulgaria's State Council president pointed out that the surest guarantee for the preservation of peace is the maintenance of the existing military and strategic balance and the undertaking of measures to lower the level of military confrontation. This aim can be achieved only by means of an honest and constructive dialogue, taking into consideration the interests of the partners and based on the principles of parity and equal security, Mr Todor Zhivkov emphasized.

Presenting his letters of credence, Mr Melvyn Levitsky pointed out that during his mission to Bulgaria he will work for the promotion of bilateral relations, for the elucidation of his government's policy.

The U.S. ambassador defined the topical questions in bilateral relations as essential and important. He noted the possibilities for the promotion of Bulgaro-American relations in various spheres, and he laid particular emphasis on the significance of maintaing the mutual dialogue.

COMMENTATOR DECRIES 'ROUTINE' PRODUCTION REPORTS

AU091706 [Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 8 November carries on page 3 a 1,300-word article by Gospodin Kolev: "Along the Lines of Routine" with the subtitle: "Reflections of a Party Worker as a Result of Last Year's Accountability-Election Conferences and in View of the Present Ones." The article is preceeded by the following introductory passage:

"For many years as a party worker, I have attended accountability-election conferences of basic party organizations in various parts of the country and in various branches of our national economic sector. I felt pride and joy in witnessing how the Communists are developing along with the organizational, ideological, and economic work, and how their activities are becoming increasingly efficient. They are expressing their opinions freely, in a critical and self-critical manner, and are thoroughly concerned about the party cause and manifest this concern in a statesmanlike manner. However, today there are certain things on which I look back with a certain concern, as the new accountability-election campaign has begun. Forms and methods are very often mechanically reiterated and we are proceeding along the lines of the old routine."

Kolev then compares two reports of basic party organizations, one from an agro-industrial complex in Vurbitsa town and the other from the Sofia G. Kostov Machine Building Factory, and points out that the first report appears "separated from the real tasks" while the second report, that of the Sofia factory, is "businesslike" and "concentrates on the main task, namely, the quality problem."

Gospodin Kolev criticizes the "repetitive" character of certain formulations in the report of the Vurbitsa agro-industrial complex, where "lack of discipline" is discussed in general terms, without pointing out the specific shortcomings of the present day, for "what used to be good discipline yesterday is no longer satisfactory today, since the criterion of discipline today encompasses a much wider range of requirements."

Kolev analyzes other accountability-election conferences in various basic party organizations, such as Veliko Turnovo, Lyaskovets, Gorna Oryakhovitsa, and Sliven, dealing with ideological questions. He notes that only one of the speakers at these conferences "the lecturer from Lyaskovets," tried to deal "more thoroughly" with the question of ideological work. Kolev also cites one of the other speakers, P. Rahnov, secretary of a basic party organization in the Sliven Georgi Dimitrov Textile Plant, who explained the "abnormal situation" in connection with ideological work by the fact that the "Communists are being confronted every day with problems of production in which they are morally and materially interested, while ideological work is a different matter, its effect has other dimensions." Kovel replies that this is not a sufficient explanation and that the causes of shortcomings in ideological work "must be more thoroughly researched."

Another point subjected to Gospodin Kovel's criticism is the routine procedure of most accountability-election conferences in nominating speakers according to the same "old cliche" which has not changed for years: The chairman of the Trade Union Committee, the secretary of the Komsomol Organization, and the chairman of the People's Control Commission take the floor and report on their activities, without explaining "how they are accomplishing their tasks, how they are promoting party policy, without describing the example of Communists". Kolev adds that the rest of the party members seldom "dare to interfere in these speakers' territories" and take part in the discussion, "although they are all bearing political responsibility for the state of work in mass organizations."

Kolev adds a few remarks about the manner of adopting draft resolutions at accountability-election conferences, in which case he criticizes the practice of "flash adoption" of draft resolutions, distributed to the party members days in advance. He recommends a more thorough discussion of these documents, which are "guidelines for the activities of the organization in the subsequent one-year period."

Kolev's article closes with the following remark: "Every conference is a school for the Communists. The accountability-election conference, in particular, is an even more important and more varied political school. This is precisely why everything must be thoroughly considered and well prepared for the forthcoming annual conferences, everything must be organized so as to conform with the great, new requirements and criteria submitted by the BCP National Conference."

SMALL ENTERPRISE COOPERATION SOUGHT WITH POLAND

AU131313 Sofia BTA in English 1145 GMT 13 Nov 84

[Text] Sofia, November 13 (BTA) -- Bulgaria attaches great importance to the construction of small and medium-size enterprises in the different branches of her economy. The Bulgarian Industrial Economic Association works actively in this sphere. It has aided the construction of a considerable number of this kind of projects with up-to-date equipment which give a high-quality output.

The Polish exhibition of projects for small and medium-size enterprises for different sectors of the economy is a continuation of this policy. The exhibition will be accompanied by a four-day symposium at which Polish experts will deliver reports. The organisers of the exhibition are the Bulgarian Industrial Economic Association and the Polish Polimex firm which is an old trade partner of Bulgarian organisations. Over the last years Bulgarian firms and Polimex have signed contracts to the tune of several hundred million roubles. With the cooperation of the Polish firm a number of small and medium-size enterprises are to be built in Bulgaria which will be in conformity with the programme for long-term cooperation.

The reports to be delivered at the symposium will concentrate on the sphere to the food industry and the construction of water purifying stations.

DYULGEROV CHAIRS TU MEETING ON PLAN, BUDGET

AU121637 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 12 Nov 84

[Text] On 12 November Comrade Petur Dyulgerov chaired a meeting of the Bureau of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council, which discussed the drafts of the uniform plan on the country's socioeconomic development and the 1985 budget. Stanish Bonev, chairman of the State Planning Committee, presented the 1985 draft plan. Kostadin Ivanov, first deputy minister of finance, presented the 1985 draft budget.

After the debate, the Bureau of the Trade Unions Central Council adopted its own proposals, which outline the position of the Trade Unions on the matters discussed by the meeting.

CYPRIOT DEMOCRATIC PARTY DELEGATION ARRIVES

AU121523 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 12 Nov 84

[Text] On 12 November, at the invitation of the Fatherland Front National Council, a delegation of the Democratic Party of Cyprus led by Andreas Dimitrianis, Politburo member, arrived in Bulgaria. The delegation consists of party activists from various Cypriot cities and regions. During their visit the guests will exchange experiences with Fatherland Front activists and will acquaint themselves with our country's successes in socioeconomic development.

LEADERS' APPEARANCES FROM 4 to 10 NOVEMBER

AU111351 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its broadcasts from 4 to 10 November notes the following appearances of Bulgarian leaders (time and date of broadcasts noted in parentheses):

Todor Bozhinov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of energy and raw material resources, attended a celebration in Sofia marking Metallurgists' Day (1830 GMT 5 November).

Georgi Yordanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and chairman of the Committee for Culture, together with Stoyan Mikhaylov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, attended the opening of a cinematographic conference in Sofia (0900 GMT 8 November). Yordanov is also reported to have attended a painter's anniversary celebration in Sofia (1830 GMT 8 November).

HUSAK CONFERS AWARD ON KGB CHAIRMAN CHEBRIKOV

LD131743 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1700 GMT 13 Nov 84

[Text] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the Republic, received today in Prague Castle the members of the delegation of the State Security Committee of the Soviet Union led by Viktor Chebrikov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the State Security Committee.

Comrade Gustav Husak presented Viktor Chebrikov with the Order of Victorious February, which was awarded to him at the proposal of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium for his important part in developing and consolidating internationalist bonds between the nations of the two countries. He also presented all the delegation members with commemorative medals to mark the 40th anniversary of the culmination of the national liberation struggle of the Czechoslovak people and of the liberation of our homeland by the Soviet Army.

Comrade Gustav Husak stressed Viktor Chebrikov's heartfelt friendship toward Czechoslovakia, his personal role in the liberation of Czechoslovakia from the fascist occupiers, and his important contribution in the postwar years as a party and state representative to developing and deepening the Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship and alliance. He congratulated all the other delegation members on being awarded commemorative medals and wished them good health and great success in their further leadership.

On behalf of the delegation Comrade Viktor Chebrikov expressed thanks for being awarded the high Czechoslovak distinctions and commemorative medals. He stressed that the conferment of these awards is an acknowledgment of the work of Soviet Communists and an expression of respect for the peace policy of the Soviet Union. It is our desire to do everything to ensure that the firm bonds and fraternal relations between our parties, states and peoples develop in the interests of peace and the unity of the socialist community, Comrade Viktor Chebrikov stated.

PRAGUE RECALLS AUSTRIA ENVOY OVER BORDER INCIDENT

Shooting Justified

LD091821 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1700 GMT 9 Nov 84

[Text] According to a report received from the relevant Czechoslovak authorities, there was a violation of the Czechoslovak-Austrian border on the afternoon of 30 October 1984. The transgressor was pursued in the Czechoslovak border zone by members of the Border Guard. In view of the fact that he did not obey a call to halt and did not react even to warning shots, the guards opened fire. The transgressor, however, succeeded in fleeing to Austrian territory. It was ascertained that the person concerned could be Frantisek Faktor, a recidivist, who had received punishment eight times in the past and who was to have begun to serve another sentence of deprivation of freedom for criminal activity. His body was found at the beginning of this week by Austrian authorities in the vicinity of the Czechoslovak-Austrian border.

The Czechoslovak-Austrian commission for the investigation of incidents on the joint state borders recently discussed this incident. The Czechoslovak delegation stated that the Czechoslovak side carried out a thorough investigation of the incident. It was confirmed that the Czechoslovak Border Guards in pursuing the transgressor ended their firing on Czechoslovak territory approximately 400 meters from the joint state borders because they lost sight of the transgressor in the terrain. Following their action the Czechoslovak Border Guards conducted themselves precisely in accordance with the relevant Czechoslovak regulations.

According to orders they cannot and must not cross the state border and operate outside Czechoslovak territory. This is why the Ministry of Foreign Affairs today rejected emphatically a protest from the Austrian side, which stated that Czechoslovak Border Guards had violated Austrian territory.

Despite the facts stated, certain circles in Austria that are trying to upset the good-neighborly relations Czechoslovakia enjoys with the Austrian Republic have been misusing the incident to unleash a hateful campaign against Czechoslovakia.

Austrian Media 'Propaganda' Hit

LD102146 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 10 Nov 84

[Antonin Kostka Foreign political commentary]

[Text] For the last few days now, the propaganda drums of almost all the Austrian media have been beating out a message redolent of the worst times of the cold war: Austrian neutrality is threatened! Czechoslovakia violates human rights again! Affront to humanism!

What is this all about? Is there a new anschluss in the offing? Can it be that someone is dictating to the Austrian leaders what they may or may not do and with whom they may and may not trade, have friendly relations, or conduct their business? Or, perhaps, are foreign tanks looming up on the Austrian border?

No, none of these things are happening. If any nation trying to force its own interests and ideas on Austria, it is certainly not Czechoslovakia, and these reproaches would be more appropriately directed across the ocean. For certain circles however, what actually happened in this case is even more unacceptable: a neighboring state took the liberty to intervene effectively in an attempt to violate its borders. And since the violator did not stop when challenged to do so, and made no reaction to warning shots, the border patrol opened fire on him -- a procedure which is in accordance with the law and which is completely normal on all borders anywhere in the world. Moreover this procedure is entirely logical, particularly in view of the present tense international situation.

Of course it is regrettable if, in the process, someone loses his life, even if he does so through his own fault and even if he is recidivist with eight criminal offenses to his record, as is the case in this specific instance. But is this sufficient reason to unleash a fanatical and hysterical campaign against one's neighboring country, especially when it is a country which officially maintains good political, economic, cultural and humanitarian relations? Does this give every Tom, Dick and Harry the right to set himself up as a moralizing preacher, to wag his finger and lash out with the kind of uncouth language that was not even fit even for members of the Kaiser's entourage to use to their laundrywomen in Vienna in the bad old days of the Austro-Hungarian empire?

This reaction is all the more strange when we stop to think who, in fact, bears the moral responsibility for that violation of the border which ended so tragically. If Frantisek Faktor tried to flee illegally to Austria, faced as he was with another penal sentence for his criminal acts, was it not perhaps mainly due to the fact that in the West, and in Austria too, there have been several instances where criminal elements have been accorded so-called political asylum, with all the financial rewards and dubious honors that accompany such acts for political propaganda reasons?

Had it been another country's border, the case of Mr Faktor would not have deserved another mention. But in this case, it was the border of a socialist state and of a neutral neighbor with which that state has extensive relations, and that is what the Austrian reactionaries and their foreign mentors cannot stomach.

And that is why the media, under the conductor's baton of the reactionaries which control them, latched on so forcefully to the fact that Faktor did in fact manage to reach Austrian territory, where he probably succumbed to his injuries, and why they vented such a hullabaloo on the basis of a version which they made up for themselves, namely that he was chased and shot on what was Austrian territory, and Austrian sovereignty had therefore been violated.

It is typical that the right-wing Austrian press barons did not bother to wait for the results of the investigation, or for the findings of the mixed Czechoslovak-Austrian border commission, and unleashed on the basis of their own invented version a tumultuous campaign on what, for them, was an open-and-shut case. It is not only typical, but for normal interstate relations quite unacceptable that in this atmosphere of hysterical emotions whipped up by the media, the Austrian Foreign Ministry and the Austrian Parliament should also allow themselves to be bamboozled.

The many years of Czechoslovak-Austrian relations prove that friendly relations and cooperation between both countries are mutually advantageous and useful. But the abuse of any distastefully-concocted excuse, especially such a tragic case as this one, for slander and unseemly anti-Czechoslovak attacks can only damage good-neighborly relations. And that means playing into the hands of those forces who are trying to nudge Austria away from its safe position as a neutral state because that neutrality is a barrier to military exploitation of the strategically very important Austrian territory.

Recall for 'Limited Period'

LD131624 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 13 Nov 84

[Text] (Heinrich Woerner), charge d'affaires of the Republic of Austria, has been summoned to the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where Deputy Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes expressed the surprise and strong concern of the Czechoslovak Government over the artificial and malicious campaign against the CSSR in Austria, in which certain Austrian officials have also joined.

He pointed out that the artifically-created anti-Czechoslovak atmosphere is in violation of normal good-neighborly relations and does not create the necessary conditions for the Czechoslovak ambassador to remain in Austria. He has therefore been recalled to Prague for a limited period [na urcitou dobu].

It was emphasized to the Austrian official that Czechoslovakia, in the spirit of the policy of peaceful cooperation, is willing to develop mutually-advantageous relations with all states with different social systems, but only on the basis of mutual respect, equal rights, and noninterference in internal affairs.

ATTEMPT TO CROSS FRG BORDER 'BY FORCE' REPORTED

LD101627 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 10 Nov 84

[Text] Last night in the neighborhood of the Strazny border crossing to the FRG, an attempt was made to cross over to the FRG by force. The perpetrator, who in the past has been prosecuted for violent crime, wanted to make an illegal departure from Czechoslovakia into the FRG by force using hostages who were travelling on a regular bus route. He fired a loaded weapon, threatened to use explosives, and threatened the driver and 48 passengers on the bus. Thanks to decisive and prompt action by the border guard authorities, in close cooperation with local bodies of the National Security Corps, the dangerous perpetrator was disarmed and arrested. The passengers, who included 8 children under age 15, were freed. The border guard authorities provided them with the necessary assistance.

REASONS FOR REAGAN WIN, FUTURE POLICY EXAMINED

AU122137 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Nov 84 p 7

[Text] The most important of the several factors that led to Ronald Reagan's reelection as U.S. president was obviously the improvement of the economic situation in the country. He came to power at a time when the critical downward slide had reached its lowest point and when the revitalization gradually began to manifest itself -- a revitalization that benefitted particularly the so-called middle strata of American society which are traditionally the most active participants in political life. However, a few months ago signs of another critical downward slide again began to appear. But the slide was not so noticeable as to disprove the Republicans demagogic preelection slogans about "Reaganomics" causing an economic upsurge. A certain role was also played by Reagan's promise that, contrary to his opponent Mondale, he would not raise taxes.

In this way the Republicans received the votes of primarily the groups of citizens linked to the ruling class and also of the middle strata. The poorer strata of the population, the national minorities, and the Afro-Americans, who usually support the Democratic Party, either succumbed to the Republicans' preelection demagogy or refrained from taking part in the elections.

A certain role was also played by the fact that Reagan, who had conducted his election campaign in 1980 in a militarist and sharply anti-Soviet spirit, this time strove to convince Americans that he is prepared to strive for peace in the world and to improve relations with the Soviet Union. This pseudo peace rhetoric reflected the growing concern of millions of Americans citizens about deteriorating relations with the Soviet Union, the feverishly escalating arms race, and the increasing threat of a nuclear war; at the same time it aimed at blunting criticism directed at the militarist and confrontational policy pursued by the United States under President Reagan under the slogan of "A strong America" and of the revival of America's leading position in the world."

The election results signal the failure of the Democratic Party. The Democrats are a bourgeois party, like the Republicans. They differ only in unsubstantial issues. Moreover, in the last phase of the election campaign, Walter Mondale was selling himself cheap in the political market with a right-wing orientation. Many Americans thus saw little difference between the two parties. That is why the influence of the Democratic Party has weakened even among those groups that used to support it, such as youth, trade unions, Afro-Americans, and so forth. As a result, the Democrats were defeated even in those states where they have previously won for a number of years.

The American military-industrial complex won immense profits from Reagan's militarism and his program of feverish armament. This explains why Reagan won support primarily in those states where the center of gravity of the armament industry lies -- Texas, California, and so forth. He was also backed by financial capital and its headquarters -- Wall Street. In this way Reagan's election staff was able to spend record sums of money for publicizing its candidates.

Reagan was backed by a whole gamut of right-wing organizations; and their influence on U.S. domestic and foreign policy is growing. This is the result of certain internal shifts in the structure of American society, of the growing numbers and influence of the middle strata of a deeply rooted and nourished anticommunism, and of the wave of nationalism and chauvinism which has strikingly grown in the last few years and the strings of which President Reagan had plucked.

The future will tell what the real policy of the incumbent American President will be. Quite a lot is indicated by the interview with Ronald Reagan that was published on 6 November by THE WASHINGTON POST. Although the American President spoke in favor of negotiations with the Soviet Union on limiting nuclear armament, at the same time he declared that in his second term of office, too, he will remain devoted to the "star wars" program, the U.S. endavor to extend the arms race to outer space.

14TH FEDERAL ASSEMBLY JOINT SESSION CONVENED

Indra, Chnoupek Speak

LD121641 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 12 Nov 84

[Excerpts] Today's Federal Assembly joint session of both chambers is discussing the basic issues of CSSR foreign policy. Here is a live relay from the hall by our correspondent Lubos Lidicky: The deputies at the session welcomed Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, and other CPCZ officials, members of the federal government, and other guests. Also present were representatives of the diplomatic corps accredited in Prague. Alois Indra, chairman of the Federal Assembly, stressed in his opening speech that today's meeting was taking place at an exceptionally complicated time. The international situation has become extremely strained, and the border between the two worlds is even more tense. Our country, he said, is in the heart of Europe. No important European events, including two world wars, fail to affect us. That is why we have a vital interest in peace.

His introductory speech was followed by a speech by Bohuslav Chnoupek, minister of foreign affairs, on the fundamental issues of our country's foreign policy. Comrade Chnoupek said that in the historic struggle between progress and reaction, the ability of socialism to tackle the crucial problems facing mankind in favor of the implementation of the basic right to life has been confirmed. The minister, speaking about our foreign policy over the last 2 years, stressed that it is concerned primarily with implementing the policy of the 16th CPCZ Congress, with carrying out the most important task, that of defending peace and preserving favorable conditions for building a developed socialist society. We see the current international situation as tense and uncertain. The reason for this is the militaristic course of the most reactionary forces of imperialism, which continue to bank obstinately on military might. The situation was heightened by the deployment of new American medium range missiles in certain NATO states. By deploying these, however, the West has in no way achieved its inteded objective. The Warsaw Pact states' countermeasures have preserved the approximate military balance, but, unfortunately, at a higher and therefore more dangerous level. Nevertheless, Comrade Chnoupek stated, in the current dangerous situation in the world we are concentrating our efforts on limiting the arms race and moving toward disarmament.

He then went on to talk about our bilateral relations. In this connection he stated that our international activity and prestige is documented by the fact that we maintain diplomatic relations with 133 states; we are members of 60 intergovenmental organizations; 63 diplomatic missions operate in our country, as well as 13 general consulates; and our republic is party to agreements with 124 countries of the world. All this is testimony to the high prestige and authority of our socialist republic and to the fact that we are an active agent in all spheres of international relations. We enjoy worldwide respect, which is in keeping with our unambiguous political and ideological affiliation, our economic and cultural maturity, and our active efforts to make a contribution to solving all major international problems. These positive results have been achieved, Comrade Chnoupek stated, thanks to the purposeful leadership of our Communist Party and to the support provided for its foreign policy by the whole of our society. A short while ago, a debate was begun on the foreign minister's report on the basic issues of our foreign policy, to which 13 deputies have so far asked to contribute.

Other Officials Speak

LD122323 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1900 GMT 12 Nov 84

[Text] A 2-day joint session of the Chamber of the People and the Chamber of Nations of the Federal Assembly began in Prague today. The main item on the agenda is a report by Bohuslav Chnoupek, minister of foreign affairs, on the fundamental issues of Czechoslovak foreign policy.

In the debate Josef Simuth, deputy of the Chamber of Nations, spoke about Czechoslovakia's position in the world economy and its integration within the international division of labor. He singled out Czechoslovakia's interest in intensifying and expanding economic contacts with all countries, regardless of their social systems, on the basis of mutual advantage and noninterference.

Bohuslav Kucera, deputy of the Chamber of the People, talked about the share of the international contacts of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly and the Czechoslovak Interparliamentary Group in fulfilling the joint objectives of our foreign policy.

Maria Humajova, deputy of the Chamber of the People, spoke in the debate about Czechoslovakia's assistance to the developing countries.

Anna Sagova, deputy of the Chamber of the People, stressed in her speech that the international situation and its aggravation, especially due to U.S. imperialism, demands that every one of us responsibly fulfill our tasks and jointly strengthen our country's economy, which is a basis not only for the social well-being of all of us but at the same time a necessary factor to strengthening defense capabilities.

Jaroslav Kalkus, a deputy of the Chamber of the People, condemned revanchist tendencies and the restoration of Neo-Nazism in the FRG, manifestations of the Sudeten German expellees organization, interference in our internal affairs through demagogic attacks on Czechoslovakia's church policy, and attempts to revise the results of treaties on postwar settlement in Europe. He went on to say that revanchist forces are becoming increasingly active in Austria. Their aim is to aggravate present relations and they avail themselves of every pretext, however unsubstantiated it may be, to attack Czechoslovakia, as we were able to witness during the recent incident on the Czechoslovak-Austrian border incident.

Miroslav Stephan, deputy of the Chamber of the People, drew attention to the dangers of state terrorism, which the United States has elevated to the level of official government policy. He recalled that the latest example is Nicaragua, where the United States' military presence grows by the hour and direct intervention is threatening this heroic country, which has embarked on the path of progress.

Newly-Approved Bills Detailed

LD131814 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1100 GMT 13 Nov 84

[Text] The 14th joint session of the Chamber of the People and Chamber of Nations of the Federal Assembly ended in Prague today. Our reporter, Lubos Lidicky, tells us about today's proceedings:

[Lidicky] Deputies discussed and approved four government-sponsored bills raising low pensions, changing sick benefits, a bill on maternity allowance, and a bill to extend regular holiday entitlement. A report on all these bills was delivered by Miloslav Boda, minister of labor and social affairs. In the ensuing debate on the proposed changes, speeches were made by joint rapporteurs.

Deputy Jana Pekarova spoke for the Chamber of the People and Deputy Jan Tencian for the Chamber of Nations saying, among other things, that the government-sponsored bills are part of a whole package of measures that will influence a considerable segment of the population and will be another step in the realization of the social and economic program set out by the party's 16th congress.

Among the most important components of social security are pension provisions involving those granted pensions prior to 1971. From the social viewpoint the amendment of the first law concerns citizens who are no longer capable of working and have no other income. Of importance are also changes concerning sick benefits by which the maximum benefit rates are being raised. Another important proposed change concerns a maternity allowance entitlement. It enables mothers to look after their children during a very significant period in their development. The fourth government-sponsored bill extends the basic holiday entitlement from 2 weeks to 3 for young people between the ages of 18 and 23.

In separate voting, deputies of both chambers unanimously approved all the government-sponsored bills submitted. Tomorrow's dailies will carry details about the newly-adopted laws. Deputies also discussed and approved a consular agreement between the CSSR and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen that was signed in March in Prague 1984. After the 14th joint session of the Chamber of the People and Chamber of Nations ended, the Federal Assembly Presidium met and validated the bills.

SLOVAK PRESS ON CIA LINKS WITH SIKH EXTREMISTS

AU091644 [Editorial Report] Slovak papers continue to publish articles on Sikh separatists and their links with the "enemies of India." Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 8 October, Bratislava PRAVDA Weekend Supplement in Slovak on 9 November, and Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY in Slovak on 8 November all devote articles to that topic.

Bratislava PRAVDA on 8 November, on page 6, carries an 800-word article by Boris Latta entitled "The Majority of the Nation Endorses National Unity; Sikh Extremists -- An instrument in the Hands of the Enemies of India." Speaking about the claim of Sikh separatists to Khalistan, an independent Sikh state, Latta says: "At first sight this appears to be a local conflict; in reality, however, well-known forces -- the forces of international terrorism, specifically the American CIA -- stand behind it. Sikh extremists represent a small but well-organized group of fanatics that is supported, aside from the CIA, by other Western organizations of similar nature and, naturally, by Pakistan. These forces misuse the Sikhs' traditions and their mode of thinking and conduct."

Lubomir Trefny in his 600-word article "Who Are the Sikhs?" published by Bratislava PRAVDA Weekend Supplement on 9 November on page 2, notes the responsibility of Sikh extremists for the assassination of Indira Gandhi last week. Trefny says: "The Sikhs' discontent with their cohabitation in a joint Indian state, their desire to secede from India and establish a state of their own, a certain degree of religious fanaticism, and, above all, their readiness to solve problems by armed struggle, have from the beginning played into the hands of imperialist forces who resent the progressive orientation of the Indian Government, its policy of peace, and its active participation in the Nonaligned Movement. As in many other similar cases, the American CIA seized the initiative. Some time ago, details of the CIA's secret Brahmaputra plan came to light, which envisaged the exploitation of religious unrest for dividing the country from within. Facing this, the Indian Government had to take unavoidable measures. CIA specialists were inciting separatist tendencies, making use chiefly of neighboring Pakistan from which they supplied Sikh extremists with the most up-to-date weapons. The weapons found in the main Sikh shrine in Amritsar during the recent incident furnish evidence of the origin of the weapons that terrorized the population and politicians."

Concluding his article, Trefny says: "The events of the past days that culminated in the assassination of Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi bear out that the Sikh extremists will not shy away from anything. Their religious feelings and separatist inclinations have become a plaything in the hands of imperialist circles. They use the most drastic methods, including terror, murder, and acting as mercenaries in the service of foreign interests."

Similar charges are raised by Stanislav Urban in his 800-word article "What Is Sikhism?" in Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY on 8 November on page 4. Urban asserts that the "CIA has set itself the goal of inciting bloody religious unrest in Punjab," with the aim of "dividing united, peace-loving India," and expresses deep regret that the religious fanaticism of reactionary Sikhs furthers such plans.

CSSR'S LENART MEETS JARUZELSKI ON STOPOVER

LD092103 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 2030 GMT 9 Nov 84

[Text] Wojciech Jaruzelski, the highest Polish representative, made a stopover this evening in Czechoslovakia on his return journey from Hungary. In Sturovo, he met Jozef Lenart, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, and other representatives.

PRESS STATEMENT ON STROUGAL MEXICO VISIT

AU131100 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Nov 84 pp 1, 7

[Text] Mexico, 9 Nov (CTK special correspondent) -- CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal ended on Friday his official visit to the United Mexican States and left by air for home. The visit took place at the invitation of Mexican President Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado. L. Strougal and his party were seen off at the airport of Mexico's capital by Minister of Foreign Affairs Bernardo Sepulveda and Minister of the Interior Manuel Bartlett.

A press statement was adopted at the end of the visit, which says:

At the invitation of Muguel de la Madrid Hurtado, president of the United States of Mexico, CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal paid an official visit to Mexico on 6-8 November 1984. The CSSR premier was accompanied by Milos Jakes, Federal Assembly deputy and CPCZ Central Committee secretary, and by other figures.

During his stay in Mexico, Lubomir Strougal met President Miguel de la Madrid and discussed with him the issues of mutual relations between the two countries, as well as the most important current international problems. Furthermore, L. Strougal met Bernardo Sepulveda, minister of foreign affairs, with whom he discussed certain issues on which the two countries have concurrent opinions, such as, for instance, opinions on the fight for peace, the effort to achieve a more just international economic system, and the necessity to consolidate the United Nations. On both occasions the risk represented for the world, and above all for Europe, by the arms race was discussed, as was also the situation in Central America and the peace efforts of the Contadora Group, which has enjoyed the CSSR's support from the very beginning.

During the CSSR premier's meeting with Mexico's president, Bohumil Urban, CSSR minister of foreign trade, and Hector Hernandez, Mexican minister of trade and industrial development, signed the Declaration on Cooperation in the Economic and Industrial Spheres. This agreement should contribute toward the further development of economic contacts between the two countries. Jaroslav Jakubec, CSSR deputy minister of foreign trade, and Alfredo Philips, director of Mexico's Bank of Foreign Trade, signed a loan accord which should assist the development of mutual trade.

CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal and President Miguel de la Madrid received with gratitude the final protocol of the fourth session of the Czechoslovak-Mexican Joint Commission for Economic and Trade Cooperation, which had convened in Mexico on 5 and 6 November 1984. The recommendations and decisions adopted in the course of the session of this joint commission will be implemented in the economic relations between the two countries in the next 2 years.

Milan Klusak, minister of culture of the Czech Socialist Republic, and Stanislav Svoboda, CSSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, signed with Ricardo Valera, Mexican deputy minister of foreign affairs, the implementation protocol for 1984-87 of the cultural agreement of 1968, and signed the final protocol of the sixth session of the Czechoslovak-Mexican mixed Commission for Cultural and Educational Cooperation.

The course of the talks conducted by the CSSR premier with the top representatives of Mexico's governmental and legislative bodies reflected the concern of the governments of the two countries over growing international tension, which has evoked new conflicts and accelerated the arms race. During the meetings the inevitability of reopening negotiations between the great powers and of strengthening cooperation between the states was stressed. The loyalty of the two countries to the principles of the UN Charter, and the urgent need to grant support to this organization in its task to maintain peace by applying the measures adopted by its various bodies was stressed.

During his stay, CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal laid a wreath at the memorial of Mexican heroes and honored the memory of Lidice martyrs in San Jeronimo-Lidice. Many citizens and pupils of the local school bearing the name of Lidice participated. Premier Lubomir Strougal conveyed to the Mexican President Miguel de la Madrid an invitation to pay an official visit to the CSSR at a time that suits him. He then invited Bernardo Sepulveda, minister of foreign affairs, to visit the CSSR. In conclusion of his official visit, Premier Lubomir Strougal, together with President Miguel de la Madrid, opened the CAMEXPO 84 exhibition.

STROUGAL RECEIVES VISITING DPRK VICE PREMIER

LD140000 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 13 Nov 84

[Text] Today in Prague, Lubomir Strougal, the federal premier, received Kong Chin-tae, vice premier of the DPRK who is heading a Korean delegation to the fifth session of the two countries' Intergovernmental Consultative Committee on Economics, Science, and Technology. Both officials stressed the importance of further intensifying mutual relations in the political, economic, and cultural spheres. They paid particular attention to the conditions for increasing economic, scientific, and technological cooperation and to ways of implementing the conclusions adopted during this year's visit by the Korean party and state delegation to Czechoslovakia concerning the supply of certain key projects by the CSSR for the DPRK.

GDR'S FISCHER ATTENDS CSSR RECEPTION IN BERLIN

LD131434 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0430 GMT 13 Nov 84

[Text] To mark the 35th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Czechoslovakia and the GDR, Czechoslovak Ambassador Pavel Sadovsky gave a gala dinner in Berlin yesterday which was attended by GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer and other guests. In the toasts exchanged, the importance was stressed of the long-term friendship between Czechoslovakia and the GDR, which is developing on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism.

CATHOLIC CLERGY END CONGRESS, ISSUE STATEMENT

LD140024 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 13 Nov 84

[Text] The Third Congress of Pacem in Terris, the Catholic clergy association, in the Czech Socialist Republic ended today in Brno. Here is our correspondent Jaroslav Rektor with a report:

[Rektor] The second day of the congress included discussions in all the working groups, namely, theology and peace, special-interests, and press commissions. The results of the work of these groups, which focused on the movement's needs, were then expressed in the final documents, which included letters to the Czech Government, the Czech Peace Council, and the bishops of the individual Czech dioceses. The delegates approved a policy statement on the direction of their activity in the coming 5-year period. The statement confirms the value of the work done so far by Pacem in Terris in light of the latest church documents relating to the peace initiative of the Roman Catholic Church. The policy statement and letters express the movement's stand on current international relations and on the danger of the threat of war. They formulate a positive stand in respect to the efforts of our people to build up their country and in respect to the peaceful foreign policy of Czechoslovakia and the other socialist countries.

Among the points mentioned in the letter to the Czech Government, for example, is the following, which I quote: During the proceedings at our congress, we again realized the responsibility that we bear for peace and a quiet life, and also our duty as citizens of our country to contribute to the common good in the spirit of the motto of our movement -- to serve and to assist.

In their letter to the Czech Peace Council, the delegates to the Brno congress of Pacem in Terris among other things paid tribute to the initiative of the socialist states in the following words: As citizens of a socialist state, we accept with joy the peaceful initiatives of our statesmen and the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and people's democracies.

In conclusion, the participants of the Third Congress of the Pacem in Terris, the Roman Catholic clergy association, elected their delegates to the federal congress and new governing bodies. Vaclav Juburek, dean of the chapter of Hradec Kralove in Opocno, was elected chairman of the Czech organization of Pacem in Terris.

BILAK HOLDS MEETINGS WITH CYPRUS AKELL LEADERS

Attacks U.S. Missile Deployment

LD091133 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0830 GMT 9 Nov 84

[Text] The CPCZ delegation led by Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the party's Central Committee, yesterday evening met with officials and activists of the district committee of the Restorative Party of the Working people of Cyprus [AKEL] in Limassol.

Kiriakos Khristou, first secretary of the Limassol District Committee, pointed to the firm friendly relations between both parties which are based on Marxism-Leninism and proleterian internationalism. Vasil Bilak conveyed to all AKEL members the cordial greetings of the Czechoslovak people, the party leadership, and Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. He spoke at length about the work of the party and the efforts of the Czechoslovak people in building a developed socialist society.

He also discussed the international situation, focusing on an analysis of the attempts by imperialism to get historical revenge for the decisive defeat which it suffered after the Second World War. He analyzed the efforts of the U.S. imperialists to achieve military supremacy, as the deployment in Europe of more first-strike missiles demonstrates.

Meets Cypriot President

LD091856 Prague CTK in English 1817 GMT 9 Nov 84

[Text] Nicosia Nov 9 (CTK correspondent) -- Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, in Cyprus since Wednesday at the head of a party delegation, was received today by President Spiros Kiprianou.

The president explained in detail the position taken by the Cypriot Government at the first two rounds of talks on the Cyprus question held under the U.N. auspices in New York. He also spoke of the activity of U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar and expressed the conviction that a just and peaceful settlement will be found to the benefit of both Cypriot communities. He said that the third round of talks, due to be held later this month in New York, should be decisive for progress in efforts to resolve the very complex problem.

Vasil Bilak informed the Cypriot president of the steps that are being taken by Czechoslovakia in pursuing its foreign policy aimed at strengthening European and world peace and international security. This line provides also for principled support of the efforts of the Republic of Cyprus and its people to preserve the independence and unity of Cyprus, and to resolve the Cyprus question, Vasil Bilak said. Vasil Bilak expressed the view that settlement would be facilitated by the withdrawal of Turkish forces from the north of Cyprus and by the elimination of external influences hostile to the independence and territorial integirty of Cyrpus.

Vasil Bilak spoke also of the present situation in Western Europe and the dangerous plans of imperialism, which pose a serious threat to peace. During the meeting, held in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, the developing relations between Czechoslovakia and Cyprus and the peoples of the two countries were positively appreciated. President Kiprianou spoke highly of Czechoslovakia's active support for a peaceful and just solution to the Cyprus question on international forums.

Expresses Support, Returns Home

LD101502 Prague CTK in English 1341 GMT 10 Nov 84

[Text] Larnaca Nov 10 (CTK correspondent) -- A Czechoslovak Communist Party delegation headed by member of the Party Presidium and Central Committee secretary Vasil Bilak, ended today its visit to Cyprus and left for home. The delegation was seen off by the Ezekias Papaioannou, general Secretaary of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL), at whose invitation the visit took place. During the four-day stay, the delegation visited also Nicosia, Paphos and Limassol where talks were held with leading AKEL officials.

The talks on the work and main tasks of the two parties and international issues, including the Cyprus question, confirmed the full identity of [word indistinct] firm friendship and the resolve to develop close cooperation. AKEL officials appreciated the support given by the Communist Party and the Czechoslovak people and Government to Akel and the Cypriot people and Government in their efforts to secure a just solution to the Cyprus problem. The Czechoslovak party delegation assured AKEL officials that the party and the Czechoslovak people will always support their efforts. During the visit, Vasil Bilak was received by Cyprus President Spiros Kiprianou.

EUROPEAN STATES HAVE 'RESPONSIBILITY FOR PEACE'

DW140909 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 12 Nov 84

[Guenter Leuschner's weekly international review]

[Text] If matters were not so dead serious, we could almost feel sorry for them. Last week, entire regiments of Western journalists and politicians were pondering the fact that, and the reasons why, U.S. foreign policy would now totally change. They said that the reelected President could now make his decisions more freely, and that because he certainly wanted to be treated favorably by history, he would therefore be more concerned about peace, and so on and so forth.

It does not matter whether such speculations are the result of serious concern or were just made to deceive people. In any event, an icy wind from Washington has swept all of this away. Wishes are one thing, but realities have shown that this newly elected administration is at present seriously threatening peace in Central America. There is no doubt that the United States is almost frantically looking for a pretext to intervene in Nicaragua.

The Contadora Group peace plan and the Nicaraguan elections, which confirmed the people's wishes, provided an impressive opportunity for Washington to revise, if very cautiously, its Central American policy and make a sort of new beginning. However, the first official act and the first practical deed by the second Reagan administration was to sweep this opportunity off the table.

This was done deliberately because naturally no one in the United States seriously believed for a moment the lie about the alleged MIG deliveries. There were and are no such deliveries. The whole thing has popped like a soap bubble, and anyway, what right does Washington believe it has to state that such deliveries, if they were to exist, would not be tolerated?

Those who make such statements are violating Nicaragua's airspace every day and every hour, and have for decades openly supplied thousands of combat aircraft to dozens of countries directly on the Soviet Union's doorstep. What an uproar there would be if Moscow were to declare that it would no longer tolerate this. However, the United States has an exemption. At any rate, it applies different standards to its own behavior than it does to that of the rest of the world. Accordingly, it is not the United States that is destabilizing this region, but the Nicaraguans.

Today's FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU writes very ironically that U.S. behavior toward this small Central American state is like that of the elephant that stands on a chair to get away from a mouse and cries for help. However, the paper adds, in this case the colossus is not only wailing, it is also reacting very perfidiously. How true!

Following the events of the past few days as well as Weinberger's recent statement that the United States is prepared for anything, it is more unwarranted than ever to believe that respect for the most basic principles of international law would prevent Washington from doing the worst.

The Sandinists' admirable political wisdom and prudence as well as their readiness to defend themselves deprive Washington of every hope of military intervention. This, together with a constantly growing international protest that even includes some of Washington's allies, are obstacles on the way to aggression. It is now important to make these obstacles insurmountable. While this will certainly be difficult, it is not impossible.

The worsening situation in Central America provoked by the United States is no reason at all for us to participate in any speculation about the consequences of the U.S. elections. Whether there will be an improvement in East-West relations in the future depends entirely on the United States itself.

This was made quite clear by the Soviet Union in connection with the October Revolution anniversary ceremonies, and PRAVDA correctly said that an agenda for serious Soviet-U.S. negotiations has existed for a long time. The four proposals submitted by Chernenko in an interview with THE WASHINGTON POST are starting points that could initiate such improvement with a minimum of good will. There is no need to look around; more than enough Soviet proposals exist. They only have to stop using empty words.

So far, there has been no response from the United States on either the latest or earlier proposals by the Soviet Union. There is no readiness to negotiate a ban on the militarization of outer space, a nonaggression treaty, or the freeze of nuclear weapons. There is no readiness at all. It is really no pleasure to repeat this each week. However, these are the facts, and that is what counts. So why all the speculations?

Naturally, a lot could be said about the nature of these U.S. elections. Just over 50 percent of those eligible to vote went to the polls, a fact that has been either totally withheld or only hesitantly and peripherally noted by the Western press, even though the traditional fact that the president of the largest capitalist state is elected by 25 percent of the voters, while 50 percent of the people are not even interested, is monstrous and a mockery of democracy.

Why are half of the people so indifferent, and, above all, why does the ruling class not want to change this state of affairs? This provides food for thought.

Let us return to East-West relations. Because there is nothing to suggest that basic impulses will emanate from the United States in the future for a reactivation of detente, the Europeans' responsibility for peace will certainly remain. The head of the Soviet delegation to the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures said last Friday that this conference would have to and could play its own role in reducing military confrontation. In addition, he criticized the pessimism of those who think that it is impossible to reach any results in Stockholm because of the adverse climate, and he referred to the example of the CSCE follow-up meeting in Madrid that was ultimately successful despite the poor climate. These remarks are to be viewed as an appeal to the Europeans to live up to their responsibility.

Meanwhile, it is not only the GDR's friends who have recognized that our state is pursuing this policy very energetically and with considerable success. The visit by the Austrian chancellor, the results of this visit, and the extent to which both sides agree on the problems related to the safeguarding of peace, prove this once again.

Just imagine a situation where the relations among all European states, irrespective of their social orders, were similarly intensive and unburdened with problems as those between the GDR and Austria. How much would have been gained, and what would thereby be created far beyond Europe! The readiness for such relations naturally exists everywhere in the socialist countries, but it does not exist everywhere in the nonsocialist part of Europe.

If instead of appearing at revanchist rallies, politicians from the FRG Government parties, had during a Bundestag debate last week supported the opposition's proposal to advocate a Europe free of chemical weapons, this would have been of importance for the continuation of the Stockholm conference and would have contributed to confidence-building in Europe and thus to achieving relations such as those between the GDR and Austria. There are other examples of this kind. This kind of practical policy is what we mean by responsibility for Europe. This is what counts.

TISCH-LED FDGB GROUP VISITS ITALIAN COUNTERPARTS

FDGB-CGIL Talks Held

LD091834 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1451 GMT 9 Nov 84

[Text] Rome, 9 Nov (ADN) -- The responsibility of trade unions in the struggle to preserve and secure peace and other aspects of interest representation by trade unions were the main topics of a talk in Rome today between Harry Tisch, chairman of the FDGB, and Luciano Lama, secretary general of the Italian trade union federation, CGIL.

The struggle to preserve peace, end the arms race, and return to disarmament and detente are the most urgent tasks of the present time, the two men said. It is necessary to increase the commitment of trade unions, regardless of orientation and international affiliations, to the peace movement and to make possible joint actions.

The two sides spoke in favor of a freeze on the testing, production, and deployment of new nuclear weapons on the whole continent and of the gradual creation of nuclear-free zones. They opposed any militarization of space.

Specific steps aimed at arms limitation and disarmament are also urgently required in order to make available these extensive expenditures to resolve social questions, it was stressed. The FDGB and the CGIL advocated constructive dialogue because it contributes toward increasing and uniting the efforts of all peace-loving forces and forces prepared for understanding toward preventing a nuclear inferno.

Harry Tisch spoke about the tasks of the trade unions and their far-reaching rights regarding cooperation in the further construction of the developed socialist society in the GDR. The trade union elections in the enterprise currently show the extent to which the working people are always developing new initiatives aimed at the comprehensive consolidation of the power of the workers and peasants in the GDR.

Luciano Lama gave a detailed survey of the tasks of the Italian trade unions, primarily the struggle to preserve and create jobs and the defense of the hard earned democratic and social rights of the working people and their trade unions.

Tisch Meets Bologna TU Leader

LD111951 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1756 GMT 11 Nov 84

[Text] Bologna, 11 Nov (ADN) -- Questions of GDR economic policy as well as experiences and problems in the cooperation among the three large Italian trade union federations were the main themes in today's talk between a delegation of the FDGB and the Regional Secretariat of the CGIL in Bologna.

The GDR delegation, which will visit Italy for several days, is led by Harry Tisch, chairman of the FDGB National Executive Committee.

(Giuliano Cazzola), the first secretary of the CGIL in the Emilia-Romagna region, praised the long years of partnership between the trade union organizations of Bologna and Suhl, Modena and Potsdam, and Reggio Emilia and Halle.

Earlier, in wreath-laying ceremonies, the trade unionists from the GDR honored the 85 victims of the 2 August 1980 neofascist bomb attack at the main railway station of Bologna, as well as the partisans of the central Italian regional capital who fell in the antifascist struggle for liberation.

Group Ends 5-Day Visit

LD122157 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1739 GMT 12 Nov 84

[Excerpt] Bologna, 12 Nov (ADN) -- An FDGB delegation under FDGB Chairman Harry Tisch, member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee, today ended a 5-day visit to Italy. On its last day in Italy it had an animated discussion with the works council of a packaging-materials factory. Trade union banners were exchanged. Harry Tisch also met today the mayor of Bologna, Renzo Imbeni.

COMMENTATOR ON SECONDARY RAW MATERIALS

DW121011 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1005 GMT 11 Nov 84

[Dr Karl-Heinz Gerstner's "Sunday Economic Review"]

[Excerpts] In 1982, some 27 million tons of secondary raw materials were collected and utilized in the GDR; in 1983, it was 29 million tons, and this year the total will be 29.5 million tons. This corresponds to 11 percent of all raw materials used in our economy. To this extent we do not have to produce or import primary raw materials, thereby saving several billion marks.

The percentage of scrap in our steel industry totals 70 percent, while the percentage of waste paper in paper production amounts to 50 percent. Secondary raw materials are raw materials and as valuable as primary raw materials, and we all, dear listeners, have become important raw material suppliers of our economy. The combine secondary raw material processing in Berlin has brought out its new name SERO which stands for secondary raw materials. SERO has become a well-known trade mark in all of our Republic.

The collecting of waste paper has increased considerably. In the past year, some 600,000 tons were collected, or 41 kilograms per household, thereby saving 1.6 million solid meters of raw wood. To equal this amount, 2 million spruces would have to have been cut.

Dear listeners, the collecting of secondary raw materials is only one aspect of the tasks. The other aspect is the utilization of these raw materials, and that is more difficult -- something which apparently is not generally known. There is, for example, the problem of used tires. In the GDR we have some 80,000-90,000 used tires every year. I read in your letters time and again that tires are rotting in some place or another and are not collected. You write that the precious rubber ought to be utilized. The renewable part of old tires is retreaded. That naturally is the most effective utilization.

But 70 percent of the old tires are still utilized as fuel in furnaces. A small percentage is utilized in a granulated form as insulating material for housing construction and as aggregate for road construction. However, this is not the ultimate solution. Other countries also have not found any better solutions. The scientists continue research, and initial results have already been reached.

The utilization of waste plastics is more important than the problem I just mentioned, because of the large quantity of plastic objects we use and throw away in everyday life. It was not easy to find methods of utilization for plastics because of their very different qualities. Following intensive research, we have been successful. In 3 places of our Republic, efficient capacities for the processing of plastics were set up.

In the first 6 months of 1984, some 1,900 tons of used thermoplastics from households were collected. In view of the light weight of these plastics, that is quite a lot. Net containers were placed in front of department stores. At present, there are 6,500 such containers which are widely used by our citizens. This year, our state has appropriated M400 million for investments in the further utilization of secondary raw materials.

OCTOBER STATISTICS SHOW CONTINUED ECONOMIC GROWTH

AU081852 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 Nov 84 p 1

[ADN report: "High Economic Growth of GDR Continuously Pursued in October"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN) -- In October, once again the initiative of the working people in socialist competition resulted in high achievements in work in all fields of the national economy. Dynamic growth and increasing efficiency in the national economy were continuously pursued.

According to current statistical information, the national income increased by 5.3 percent by the end of October. In the industry ministries, net production increased by 8.4 percent; labor productivity increased by 7.6 percent; and costs fell by 2.5 percent.

Industrial goods production increased by 4.3 percent by the end of October, causing the lead in the plan fulfullment to reach M3.7 billion. In consumer goods, there was still a high production increase of 5.5 percent. The plan overfulfillment in industry amounts to M1.1 billion at retail trade selling prices. This made possible an increase of the retail trade turnover for industrial goods for the people by 5.7 percent. Altogether, the retail trade turnover increased by 4.3 percent.

Due to the building and modernizing of 171,851 apartments, the living conditions for 515,000 citizens were improved by the end of October. In the capital, Berlin, 18,699 apartments were completed.

The cooperative peasants and workers in agriculture have concluded the potato harvest with the highest yields per hectare to date. The state procurement for slaughter animals was 8.9 percent higher and for milk 6.3 percent higher than in the past year.

The plan targets for the net production of the foodstuff economy and for raw timber procurement from forestry were also overfulfilled.

In the construction sector net production increased by 7.2 percent compared to last year, and labor productivity by 7.1 per cent.

The transportation sector coped with the increased national economic production with a decrease in transportation expenditure. Railway and inland navigation increased their transportation services by 3.4 percent. Goods transporation by road was further decreased according to plan.

In the individual fields of industry and in the construction sector the following growth in net production and the labor productivity was achieved by the end of October:

	net production	labor productivity
	in percent	
coal and energy	7.9	6.4
ore mining, metallurgy, and potash	9.2	8.7
chemical industry	7.0	6.8
electrotechnology/electronics	14.4	12.9
heavy machine and installation construction	6.9	6.7
machine tool and processing machinery building	8.0	7.6
general engineering, agricultural machinery and vehicle building	7.9	6.5
light industry	8.7	9.0
glass and ceramics industry	9.1	7.9
Bezirk administered industry and food industry	7.9	6.9
geology	11.5	8.7
construction sector	7.2	7.1

In the Bezirk administered industry the following development occured in the growth of net production and labor productivity:

	net production	labor productivity
	in percent	
Capital, Berlin	13.2	9.8
Cottbus	5.1	4.4
Dresden	6.4	6.5
Erfurt	9.6	8.3
Frankfurt (Oder)	6.0	3.7
Gera	6.4	5.1
Halle	5.5	4.8
Karl-Marx-Stadt	7.2	6.2
Leipzig	6.7	6.4
Magdeburg	11.2	10.3
Neubrandenburg	6.9	5.1
Potsdam	9.3	6.7
Rostock	7.5	5.3
Schwerin	10.8	8.0
Suhl	6.4	5.0

DAILIES VIEW PROSPECTS FOR REAGAN SECOND TERM

Victory 'Personal Success'

AU131103 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 9 Nov 84 p 2

[Jozsef Szaszi article: "The Extent and Value of a Victory; Ronald Reagan -- For the Second Time"]

[Excerpts] If there was anything surprising about the outcome of the 6 November U.S. election, it was, at most, the fact that it has turned out so much the way it had been predicted.

Ronald Reagan's victory had long been regarded as dead certain by the various institutions handling public opinion polls, it was treated by experts as a foregone conclusion, and even the association of American "sorcerers," which is surprisingly well-informed in political matters, predicted recently that Reagan would be president for another 4 years.

Of course, there was no sorcery involved in the reelection of the incumbent of the White House. The old observation that it is difficult to oust an incumbent president at a time of upswing has simply been proven true once again. Reagan himself has attributed his reelection first of all to an economic situation that is more favorable than it was 4 years ago: increased employment and reduced inflation.

The excellent showman Ronald Reagan's personal appeal was another important factor in the victory. Even the Democrats reluctantly concede the President's popularity; and the entire course of the election campaign proved that in the person of Mondale they were not able to nominate a politician against him who could have entered the struggle with any prospects.

Nor did the Democrats succeed in recommending a program that could have truly inspired the camp of Democratic Party voters, which is, incidentally, more numerous than that of the Republicans. Mondale argued in vain in the 7 October television debate that the President intends to balance the budget by "worsening the position of the elderly and most vulnerable people." Reagan aptly retorted that the Democrats do not have a ready plan to bring the budget in order, either. Diverse surveys had shown that the personality of the President was much more important for 80 percent of the voters that the positions they had set forth on most of the campaign issues (in connection with the moratorium on nuclear armaments or abortion, for instance). In addition, Reagan's patriotic catchwords are close to the heart of the average American.

Thus, it is no exaggeration to say that Ronald Reagan's reelection with an almost unprecedented majority (with his victory in 49 of the 50 states, he has won all the electoral votes except 13!) is a personal success of the President and not a success for the Republican Party. This is proved also by the results of the congressional and gubernatorial elections held simultaneously with the presidential elections.

Following Reagan's election, not only the Soviet leadership, but also the United States' allies expect deeds from Washington aimed at the improvement of East-West relations. At the same time, commenting on his own election victory, Reagan declared that the voters have voted in favor of a continuation of the previous policy.

Thus, the question is which Reagan will regain tenure of the White House on 20 January? Is it going to be the Reagan of unbridled anti-Soviet rhetorics and the notorious London parliamentary speech, or the Reagan who made statements in recent weeks in the spirit that, despite political and ideological differences, peaceful coexistence and talks are needed between Washington and Moscow?

It would be futile for us to seek the answers to these questions in the 6 November election results. Genuine answers to them will be provided by the President's inauguration program speech, the composition of the new government, or, even more so, the first 100 days of the official activity of the new administration.

Change in Tone Assessed

AU131528 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 9 Nov 84 p 2

[Article by Washington correspondent Andras Dereszty: "Reagan -- For the Second Time"]

[Text] The President of the United States has been reelected with the greatest number of electoral votes ever. His reelection necessarily poses the question: What is going to happen from now on; how will the new-old President use the mandate he has just received? For this, of course, it would be good to know how both Ronald Reagan and his team evaluate the election and the lessons of the election campaign. Does the future seem as simple to them as formulated by the President at his first press conference after his reelection: "The people of our country have made it clear that they accept what we have done so far, and we will continue what we have been doing."

Shall we concentrate on the kind of statement "everything is very nice, everything is very good, I am satisfied with everything," or on the remarks hinting at changes, remarks about which a great deal could be gathered in the course of the campaign, because the Reagan rhetoric has changed.

Changing Tones

In the 1980 presidential election campaign, we remember, Reagan appeared with the arguments of the most extremist circles: There is no need for arms limitation; one can deal with the Soviet Union only from a position of strength; there is no need to waste money at home on social programs; environmental protection is just liberal deceit; and so on and so forth. It is true that he was the opposition at that time. This time he campaigned from the position of the incumbent president, a defender of a political line. Previously his main subject had been what had the government been doing wrong until then? This time, it was what has the government been doing well or in what is it misunderstood?

After the 1980 elections, as we remember, the position of the socialist countries and also of the Western partners was: It is not the words spoken during the campaign, but the President's deeds which are those that count. It is possible to evaluate, to take a further step after the phrases stand the test of practice. After a short time it became clear: What had been said by the presidential nominee in the campaign was also seriously meant by the President, too; namely, that he is truly capable of an arms buildup at the expense of social programs and the poorest strata of the population; he really does not wish to negotiate on arms limitations; he is truly ready to use military force to defend alleged U.S. interests; and he is truly capable of disregarding his Western European allies (whether on political, economic, or military issues).

Will the change in the rhetoric that followed this also bring about political change this time? We can say the same as in 1980: The concrete steps and actions of the coming months will answer this question.

It is clear that if we are searching for an answer to the key issue of how the second Reagan term will be different from the first, there is need for a high level of caution and a multilateral weighing of the situation. On the one hand, it is of course a fact that those forces that propelled Reagan 4 years ago are supporting him at the present too: the energetic, aggressive and conservative capitalist circles of the "sunbelt," of the Pacific zone, the defense industry, and the extreme right organizations.

Key Issue: The Economy

It would be a big mistake, however, to believe that Ronald Reagan became president again only on this basis. The scope of his victory is too large for this to be true. Diligent statisticians have already shown that in a good economic situation the opposition candidate does not have a chance against the incumbent president. This at least has always been the case in the course of U.S. history in the 20th century. Even if the rate of growth has slowed, the U.S. economy continues in the recovery phase. The Reagan-type of merciless economic policy did not take into consideration those who were left behind (30 million U.S. citizens are already living below the poverty line), and favored those who had suitable jobs or property. The following question brought victory for the President: "Are you better off now than 4 years ago?" The majority of Americans could answer yes. (Characteristically, however, during the partial congressional elections held 2 years ago under more difficult economic conditions, the President's party lost.) On 5 November the CBS network and THE NEW YORK TIMES concluded their poll of several weeks: They asked Americans how they would answer the question: "Are you living better...." Sixty percent answered that they were living better, and 40 percent said they were the same or worse off. On 6 November 59 percent of the voters voted for Reagan and 41 percent for Mondale.

We in Europe would like to believe that in the presidential election of a world power responsible for the destiny of the world, international issues automatically play an increased role, but we know that this is not the case. Characteristically, there was some mention of us, the socialist countries, and particularly the Soviet Union, in the campaign. Relations with the Western European allies, however, were simply not a matter of discussion. A much more important issue was whether or not there will be tax increases in the second Reagan term.

Also important in the victory of the President was the fact that the Democratic Party was unable to offer a suitable alternative, either in policy or in the intelligent, prepared, but dull person of Mondale. According to public opinion polls at the beginning of 1984, Reagan would have defeated Mondale by a margin of 16 percent of the vote; on 6 November, he won by 18 percent. It seems that the expensive and tiresome campaign was unnecessary. But it was not useless.

Tomorrow's Question Marks

When political analysts speak of Mondale "drawing Reagan towards the center," they mean first of all that, in the course of the campaign, the President was forced to deal with and take a position on questions that had previously been put on hold. Mondale succeeded in achieving what the moderates of the Republican Party had previously tried to achieve without success.

Mondale and the forces supporting him succeeded, at least in words, in moving the President slightly towards the center. As a result of this, the necessity for arms limitation, for a dialogue with the Soviet Union, as well as the nuclear responsibility of the great powers played an increased role in Reagan's speeches. Thus, there were moments during the second Reagan-Mondale television debate when the President seemed more liberal than his liberal Democratic adversary. Arms limitations, relations with the Soviet Union, as well as social issues became subjects of public attention during the campaign. Thus the new Reagan administration can hardly avoid them.

There are both pessimists and optimists among U.S. analysts on the election victory. The pessimists claim that Ronald Reagan does not have to worry about anything anymore as he cannot be again reelected. Therefore, they say, he can continue to advance more comfortably on the road of extremist policy. According to the optimists, however, the time has come for Ronald Reagan to "work for the history books." The extreme right was necessary for his election, but there is no need for them anymore in his activity. The fact that before the elections he at least succeeded in establishing personal contact with the Soviet leadership, can be interpreted thus: There are discernible signs of a change in earlier Reagan policy. All this, however, is not enough for the history books; it is not enough to grasp the historic moment....Here in the United States, too, an increasingly large number of people recognize that there is a need for action, for concrete steps -- after the change in tone, also a change in views and policy -- in order to make it possible to decrease tension and to work out genuine agreements for the limitation of the most dangerous weapons.

The world is waiting to see (both literally and figuratively) with not a small amount of tension how Ronald Reagan makes use of the mandate he has just received.

LOSONCZI MESSAGE GREETS REAGAN ON REELECTION

AU131106 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 9 Nov 84 p 2

[Text] Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council, sent a message greeting Ronald Reagan on the occasion of his being reelected president of the United States.

LOSONCZI BEGINS VISIT TO INDONESIA; MEETS SUHARTO

LD132238 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 13 Nov 84

[Excerpts] Among our detailed reports, we report first on Pal Losonczi's visit to Indonesia. Our correspondent is Zsolt Szalay.

[Szalay] For the first time the capital of Jakarta, a city of 7 million people, is the venue for discussions between the Hungarian and Indonesian heads of state which start tomorrow between Pal Losonczi and his host, Suharto, president of the Republic. While this is taking place the members of the Hungarian leader's entourage, Deputy Premier Janos Borbandi; Lajos Rev, president of the National Council of Industrial Cooperatives; Rezso Banyasz, state secretary and chairman of the Information Bureau [title as heard]; Gabor Nagy, deputy minister of foreign affairs; and Tibor Melega, deputy minister of foreign trade, will conduct talks with the relevant representatives of the Indonesian Government.

Budapest and Jakarta are 10,500 kilometers apart. The two countries have different social systems, and their circumstances and traditions are different. In spite of this, there are similar elements in their international politics and their assessment of relations. For example, among the member-states of the organization grouping the region's important capitalist states, ASEAN, Indonesia is most vehement in thinking that supporting counterrevolutionary groups fighting the Kampuchean Government cannot create peace and stability in Indochina, and in the wider sense, all of Southeast Asia.

Neither can Hungarian-Indonesian bilateral relations be [word indistinct] by the economic structures of the two countries accommodating themselves to one another favorably. Thus, on our part we are ready to generate more active economic cooperation, if Hungarian firms can join in the realization of the Indonesian development plans. However, it is true that we can only speak of beginnings in this matter. Not long ago, the measure which required socialist countries to have a state permit for delivering goods for government investment projects was lifted, but the value of Hungarian-Indonesian turnover did not reach $15 million last year.

After their arrival, the meeting of the heads of state started with a courtesy visit. Pal Losonczi and his wife called on the host, President Suharto, and his wife, in the presidential palace. Similarly, this afternoon -- in the morning by our time -- the Indonesian vice president and his wife paid a ceremonial visit to the guests.

Cooperation Discussed

LD140821 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0700 GMT 14 Nov 84

[Text] The official talks between the Hungarian and Indonesian heads of state have started in Jakarta. During the private discussion, Pal Losonczi and President Suharto discussed the development of bilateral cooperation and the main issues of the international situation. Earlier, the president of the Presidential Council laid a wreath at the memorial of the martyrs of the Indonesian war of independence.

APRO HEADS PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION TO ALGERIA

LD101541 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 10 Nov 84

[Text] A Hungarian parliamentary delegation has left for Algeria. The delegation is led by Antal Apro, president of the National Assembly. This is the first official visit by Hungarian legislators to this Arab country in north Africa. After their visit to Algeria, the deputies will go on to Syria.

PEACE COUNCIL DELEGATION LEAVES FOR DPRK

LD111719 Budapest MTI in English 1719 GMT 11 Nov 84

[Text] Budapest, November 11 (MTI) -- A delegation of the Hungarian National Peace Council, headed by Secretary Istvan Fodor, left for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on a friendly visit Sunday on the invitation of the Korean National Peace Committee. The parties are to survey the possibilities of expanding relations between the two peace movements.

COUNCIL OF CHURCHES ANNIVERSARY CONFERENCE ENDS

LD022206 Budapest MTI in English 1708 GMT 2 Nov 84

[Text] Budapest, November 2 (MTI) -- The international conference that opened Wednesday in Budapest to mark the 40th anniversary of the foundation of the Council of Hungarian Free Churches, ended Friday. The conference was attended by some 300 church representatives and theologians including thirty participants from ten countries. The heads of the foreign delegations paid a call on the State Office for Church Affairs.

Barna Sarkadi Nagy, vice-president of the State Office for Church Affairs, appreciated the work of the member churches of the council over the past four decades. The collected reports of the conference are to be published this year.

PREMIER LAZAR PAYS WORKING VISIT TO USSR

For reports on the visit to the Soviet Union by Council of Ministers Chairman Gyorgy Lazar, including Lazar's talks with Chernenko and Tikhonov, see the Eastern Europe section of the 13 November Soviet Union DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

URBAN CENSURES 'CIVIC COMMITTEES, WARNS MEMBERS

LD132129 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 14 Nov 84

[Text] Here is a report from a meeting of Government Spokesman Jersy Urban with foreign correspondents:

Participating in today's meeting, Stanislaw Zieba, minister of agriculture and food economy, presented the main problems and the current agricultural situation. He said that this year the fundamental tasks in agriculture will be fulfilled. Grain, rape, and potato crops are very good, but they will not cover all the needs for feed and consumption in Poland. The government will have to buy approximately 3 million tons of grain, primarily nongluten wheat and corn. There should be no shortage of sugar. The number of pigs is increasing quickly, and the number of cattle remains at the same level as last year. Minister Zieba also said that production and market supplies this year give reason to limit restrictions. Talks on this subject were held with the Ministry of Domestic Trade and Services and the minister of price affairs. The document that will be worked out will be subject to social consultation.

Next, questions were answered by Jerzy Urban. Many journalists asked about the situation in Poland after the killing of Father Jerzy Popieluszko and about further stages of the investigation.

[Begin Urban recording] Efforts to stir up unrest in Poland following the murder of Father Popieluszko failed. This was perhaps the aim of the provocation, and was in any case what numerous antisocialist activists tried to create, including some persons released through the amnesty. Those circles have been increasingly active in order to use the tragedy as an opportunity to remind people of their collective and personal existence. But their efforts have not aroused a social response. Our attitude toward those groups has remained unchanged. They are not and will not be partners. They should be very careful not to violate the law.

We can already say that none of the positive processes that were the target of the provocation has been slowed. These positive processes did not suffer essential damage. I am talking about the process of national accord, dialogue with the church, and establishing government contacts with the countries of Western Europe. The murder of Father Popieluszko was aimed at interrupting these processes.

We have been receiving numerous messages, including messages from believers, which speak about trust in the government and in the efforts made by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and prosecutor's office in connection with the death of Father Popieluszko. There are also voices approving the assessment presented by the PZPR Central Committee in its statement on the issue, and voices approving the policy of information concerning the murder of Father Popieluszko.

There is still no final result of the postmortem examination. I know that you will be surprised, but the investigation continues. Professor (?Byrdych) asked questions concerning skin divers. In this connection, skin divers were asked yesterday whether Father Popieluszko had a swab in his mouth; it was not clear whether air got to his lungs or not. The report from the interrogation has only just been sent to Bialystok where the examination is taking place, and perhaps, based on the report, the postmortem examination commission will be able to make a final decision.

Witnesses have been interrogated to test the credibility of the depositions of the accused. For instance, they have stated that during this trip they had repairs done to the car and pointed out the garage where these repairs were carried out. This garage has confirmed the fact, this has been examined, and so on. The stake or stick with which they said they beat Father Popieluszko has been found. In view of this, the crime detection institute is examining this stick, along with other objects, and is looking for any traces on it. The search is still underway for possible instigators of the killing. This is a vigorous search.

The investigative authorities, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the prosecutor's office are determined to continue with the investigation until all the immediate and indirect circumstances of the murder are uncovered.

The investigative authorities are also checking up on all the contacts of Piotrowski and his accomplices. Peitdruszko, who has been arrested, filed a complaint over the provisional arrest, declaring that he was innocent. There has not yet been a ruling on this matter. I would also like to add an interesting detail that has been discovered, namely, that the driver of Father Popieluszko, Chrostowski, was handcuffed when the kidnappers ordered him to get into -- pushed him into -- the car used in abducting Father Popieluszko and Chrostowski. These handcuffs were sawed through. This is the secret of how he was able to jump out and run away. [end recording]

Jerey Urban was then asked whether he agrees with the opinion that the party and state authorities will have to pay a political price for what happened to Father Popieluszko.

[Begin recording] We said right away that this event damages the party and the authorities. From a political viewpoint it is a very unfavorable event for us, and therefore a political price comes into play. It consists of a strong disruption of those positive processes which I have been talking about. [end recording]

The government press spokesman also replied to the question: Does the government have any objections to those people creating, under the slogan of defense and observance of legality, civic committees?

[Begin recording] Yes, the government has fundamental reservations and objections, because it is not a question here of [word indistinct] and organizing themselves into some sort of innocent groups, as you describe them. In the past dozen or so days, a group of former members of KOR and the Confederation for an Independent Poland, and Solidarity extremists -- taking advantage of the dramatic event, the killing of Father Popieluszko -- attempted to create antistate structures, with the completely sham purpose of defense and observance of legality. These attempts are being made just at the very time when the authorities, absolutely consistently from the first moment, have begun to reveal all the circumstances linked with the killing of Father Popieluszko and are taking numerous measures to strengthen law and order in all spheres. In essence, the point here is none other than to reactivate KOR and other organizations, which in the past several years have tried to destabilize internal relations in Poland and weaken our country's standing in the international arena. Under the cloak of humanitarian goals, the idea is to paralyze the organs of authority. The intention is to restore the anarchy of 1981, when militiamen were often prevented from coming to the aid of citizens or defending them. So, the organizers of the illegal, I stress, committees are striving to open up the way to anarchy, not just political but total anarchy, which will strike at the safety of citizens. They break the law while saying that they want to defend it. The initiators are people who themselves do not observe the law -- Seweryn Jaworski, for example. In connection with the killing of Father Popieluszko, he was summoned to the prosecutor's office. He did not respond to the summons.

Or, Anna (?Krieg) from Krakow, an unemployed person who was recently detained after driving while intoxicated. The organizers of this lawlessness I am describing use as a cover old or very ill people. They hide behind the backs of such people because there are limited opportunities to prosecute them. I am authorized to state that in the near future appropriate state authorities will undertake steps in accordance with the law toward initiators and members of self-styled committees. [end recording]

Minister Jerzy Urban also spoke about the very bad relations between Poland and France, and about the fact that these relations will have to be examined in a new way. He also conveyed the protest of the Polish Government to France concerning the shooting of a worker who demanded his rights.

Letter to Pope Denied

LD140006 Warsaw International Service in English 2230 GMT 13 Nov 84

[Excerpts] We have for you a report from the regular press conference with the government spokesman, Jerzy Urban.

Mr Urban publicly stated that the authorities would take steps against the initiators and participants of such groups as KOPP [Civic Committee Against Force], proportionate to the degree they violate Polish law.

Mr Urban also had some biting remarks on the state of Polish-French relations. He noted that the French Government was interested in a monologue on the Polish theme and not a dialogue with Poles.

Concluding his conference, Mr Urban denied Western news reports that General Wojciech Jaruzelski had sent a letter to Pope John Paul II, in which he informed the pontiff about the results of the investigation into the murder of Father Popieluszko.

SOLIDARITY LEADERS ON RESISTANCE TO INJUSTICE

NC132051 Paris AFP in English 2029 GMT 13 Nov 84

[Excerpts] Warsaw, Nov 13 (AFP) -- The underground leadership in Warsaw of the banned Solidarity trade union called today for resistance to injustice and political abuse to prevent future killings like that of Father Jerzy Popieluszko.

The call, in a document given to foreign journalists, came shortly after the government warned that it would act against committees set up by Solidarity and other opposition groups to monitor violence by state agents after the Popieluszko killing.

The Solidarity document was signed among others by Zbigniew Bujak, head of the national clandestine leadership of Solidarity, which was banned after martial law was declared three years ago. It called for "stubborn, daily resistance against injustice and banditry" by agents of state organs, and for "social control over the security apparatus" to stop policemen from feeling they can act with impunity.

The document said Solidarity supporters "did not organize...into a force that would unmask and paralyze the terrorism of the state security people" before Father Popieluszko's death. "Unfortunately, it added, "we share this responsibility with the highest authorities of Poland, including those of the church."

JANKOWSKI AWARD, FRG REVISIONIST VOICES COINCIDE

LD132016 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 13 Nov 84

[Text] On Radio Free Europe yesterday, one was able to hear the following text:

[Begin recording] For (?great) services in social and charitable work, President of the Republic Edward Raczynski [president of government in exile] has awarded to Monsignor Henryk Jankowski the Commander's Cross of the Order of Polonia Restituta. Awarding this decoration on the anniversary of the regaining of independence, he stresses the union of the whole nation, which has acquired a new vigor. [end recording]

This news item should be regarded as yet another grotesque piece of Western propaganda. Many old gentlemen from various backgrounds who like to give out decorations are living in London. Edward Raczynski is one. This time, however, the matter has a more serious undertone. During the decoration ceremony, Father Jankowski stated that in Polish Gdansk everone is praying: Lord, restore to us a free homeland. On the same day in Bonn, a congress of West German expellees' organizations took place. It was attended by Chancellor Kohl, and the notorious revisionist activist Herbert Hupka made a speech. Hupka also called for freedom for the areas which once were included in the Third Reich, and of course, for a free city of Gdansk.

People in Poland know that recently there have been considerably more revisionist speeches by some West German politicians, similar in tone and content. This time it was no coincidence that anti-Polish voices in the FRG sounded in unison with the voice of Father Jankowski in a Polish church in Gdansk. The RZECZPOSPOLITA daily draws attention to all of this. The author of the article writes that he witnessed the visit to the FRG by Primate Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski. At the former concentration camp in Dachau, where the Nazis murdered 861 Polish priests, a West German expatriate Poles' choir began a patriotic hymn. The primate joined in the singing in a loud voice and intoned: Lord, bless the free homeland. That was a lesson in patriotism, RZECZPOSPOLITA writes. It should also be a lesson to Father Jankowski and his faithful.

DAILY ON UK OFFICIAL'S VISIT, INTERFERENCE

AU131430 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 10-11 Nov 84 p 7

[Lech Kantoch commentary: "For Dialogue, Against Interference"]

[Text] It is natural that people showed such great interest in the visit to Poland by Malcolm Rifkind, minister of state at the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office. This was because the changes in our country have continued to attract almost the entire world for some time now. Western journalists, too, continue to report on these changes and note the important and crucial issues for the Polish people and state. However, we have to add that these reports are not devoid of exaggerations and, simply, fiction.

Minister Rifkind's visit to Poland at the invitation of Ernest Kucza, vice minister of foreign affairs, was evaluated by the two countries as fruitful. During his consultations and official talks the British guest was able to study our country's situation and exchange views on many bilateral and international issues and problems.

He stressed that his was the first visit at ministerial level since December 1981, and in his statement made at the press conference he expressed his satisfaction with the resumption of Polish-British political dialogue. He said, among other things, that "Great Britain is interested in developing its relations with Poland.... As for their bilateral relations, the two countries are making distinct efforts to improve their political relations and to increase their trade."

During their talks the two sides expressed concern over the increase in tension and the negative trends in international relations and stressed the need for activities to reduce threats and tension in Europe.

Minister Rifkind also stressed the importance of preserving the cultural unity of Europe as a whole, indicated that Great Britain realizes that Poland may play a role by joining the general European dialogue, declared that our country would receive help in overcoming its economic crisis, especially in joining the IMF, and noted that Britain would continue to keenly watch the situation in Poland.

However, it is impossible to ignore the propaganda-political background of the British minister's visit to Poland, which for various Western circles became an opportunity to interfere in our country's internal affairs. The publicity accompanying it was not accidental. What is more, there are reasons to think that it was made for a purpose and was to accomplish certain tasks.

The British journalists, who are accredited in Poland and attended the press conference in large numbers, asked many questions of Minister Rifkind about his views about "political prisoners" in Poland, although at least the journalists who have been in Poland for some time should have known who is still in custody and why. They should have known this because they receive full reports from the government press spokesman at his press conferences.

Of course, they were not embarrassed by the fact that several thousand persons had been arrested in Great Britain for picketing the miners strike, which the government describes as a "political" strike. In that case, are not the persons who have been detained for participating in a "political strike" political prisoners?

British journalists often asked Minister Rifkind to comment on the supposedly large discord between the authorities and the Polish people's aspirations, but they seemed to forget that in their own country the government has refused to intervene in the 8-month dispute between the National Coal Board and the striking miners.

Does this not illustrate a lack of sensitivity to the sufferings and hardships of hundreds of thousands of miners and their relatives? Does this not signify a discord between the government and the aspirations of this large group of the population to safeguard their jobs and reasonable living conditions for themselves and the future of their children?

As attested to by many statements, the issue of normalizing the conditions in Poland is of interest to us and to others. It is of interest to us because we are directly affected by the development of the dialogue between the government and the people. It is common knowledge that the sovereign authorities of the PPR continue to fully implement the ninth party congress directives.

However, we are unable to come to terms with the activities that seek to make the development of our contacts with the West dependent on the conditions that the NATO countries continue to stipulate.

This line, which the Western mass media continue to implement, is inadmissible in practice and strikes at the sovereignty and independence of the Polish state. That is why it is necessary to condemn all attempts by the Western mass media to manipulate the situation in Poland. That is why it is undignified to prey on a human drama -- on the tragedy that occurred in Poland not so long ago -- and to exploit it for the goals that can hinder not only normalization in Poland, but also the general European dialogue.

The authorities of the PPR support revitalizing their contacts with all countries, regardless of their political systems, but they will resolutely counter all attempts to interfere in our affairs, to pose conditions, and to practice political manipulation, which hinders the progressing stabilization of our political life.

RAMIFICATIONS OF REAGAN REELECTION EXAMINED

TRYBUNA LUDU on Second Term

AU122051 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Nov 84 p 7

[Adam Stanek commentary: "Prospects for the New Term"]

[Text] America has again elected Ronald Reagan as president, which means that the U.S. voters who are satisfied with the U.S. economic situation have decided his reelection by electing Reagan electors in all the states except Minnesota, which is Mondale's native state, and the District of Colombia, which is Washington. However, this also means that only about one-third of the Americans entitled to vote did so. Of the 174 million Americans who could vote, about 89 million did so, with 52.6 million giving their votes to Reagan. We repeat, 52.6 out of 174 million.

America is now facing another 4 years of a conservative Republican presidency, and the world will be able to find out whether Reagan is ready to pursue a dialogue and whether he has finally understood that we also urgently need a dialogue of deeds, because without such a dialogue there can be no relaxation of tension, no end to the arms race, and no chance to prevent a vision of star wars, Reagan's long-range program for space armaments, from turning into a real threat to peace.

"Every thinking person comprehends today," A. Gromyko said in Moscow on the anniversary of the October Revolution, "that mankind as a whole is now facing a choice of life or death. Either an arms race and a threat of a catastrophe or disarmament and peaceful coexistence among states with different systems. There is no other choice."

As soon as the initial election results indicated his victory, Reagan also declared that the time had come to negotiate with the USSR and mentioned his desire to have a summit meeting. However, as A. Gromyko said in his Tuesday speech, the bellicose U.S. circles continue to pursue the old militaristic foreign policy and to bank on U.S. military supremacy, the best illustration of which is the present Republican administration's obsession with nuclear weapons. "Those who follow such a policy," A. Gromyko declared, "should be reminded that preparing a nuclear war is the most severe crime against mankind. The United Nations, which is the supreme international forum, has pronounced such a verdict."

A few days before the elections, THE NEW YORK TIMES was one of many U.S. newspapers to come out against the election of Reagan, saying that if the various facts of Reagan's first term are taken into consideration, he will "skin the poor, favor the rich, and provide even more funds for the Pentagon," which he did during his first term when he squandered dollars on armaments, "without in any way curbing the capricious appetites of his military men." As for his program of star wars, he has urgently promoted the arms race in space.

The conservative policy, for which "millions and millions of Americans have paid with their sufferings," as THE NEW YORK TIMES said in the aforementioned article, has been coupled in Reagan's version with the awakening of what has been called America's "new spirit," but what should be described as a big power mentality and a mixture of patriotism, chauvinism, and nationalist perversion along the lines of the Los Angeles Olympics. A beginning was made by making Americans feel better and by restoring their self-confidence frustrated by the events in Vietnam, by the Watergate affair, and by the fiasco of the operation to free the U.S. hostages in Iran. This beginning culminated in an intoxication with force, in the aggressive demonstration of force against Grenada, and in dreams of world domination. Such an atmosphere has developed today in America and on such imperial principles has Reagan based his global policy. Poland was exploited in this global game with all the cyncism that is the hallmark of Reagan's attitude toward our country.

"Washington's endeavor to be stronger than anyone else, to determine the fate of sovereign states, and to dictate its will to everyone everywhere," A. Gromyko recalled, "is being expressed by brutal interference in the internal affairs of other peoples and states." The world offers many examples of this fact.

It is true that suddenly Reagan changed his tone at the end of his first term and ceased to talk about the "empire of evil," and to tell jokes about bombing the USSR. He even retracted those "golden thoughts" at one of the last campaign rallies. Now, he continues to talk about the need for agreement. But, as Minister Gromyko stressed, these declarations of peaceful aims that have been heard in Washington lately are unable to conceal the crux of U.S. militaristic policy and the activities that threaten peace. These declarations are simply not backed up by actions.

"The USSR," A. Gromyko said, "remains faithful to curbing and reducing armaments and is ready to engage in earnest and honest negotiations to reach accords that would not impair anyone's interests. We have declared this clearly and frequently to the U.S. Government." In connection with the Reagan-Gromyko meeting and the Gromyko-Shultz talks, Henry Kissinger said on U.S. television that Reagan had realized the need for an accord with the USSR. Would that this be so and would that he understand that reaching an accord with the USSR amounts to recognizing it as an equal partner, with whom one must not talk from positions of strength.

From our own point of view it is hard not to state that, as things are, nothing indicates that Reagan has understood that he was also wrong in his Polish policy and that he must undertake steps to completely lift the sanctions illegally imposed on us, to restore normal relations with Poland, and to repair the damage caused us.

Danger for Peace, Socialism

AU121703 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 8 Nov 84 p 6

[Stefan Zielicz commentary: "Ronald Reagan's Second Term"]

[Text] President Reagan has been elected for a second term. Not quite 47 million of 79 million voters who went to the polls gave him their votes.

Some 174 million Americans were entitled to vote. The result shows that Reagan received active support from fewer than one-third of the potential voters and that Mondale received this support from fewer than one-fifth of such voters, because he polled some 32 million votes.

Under the specific U.S. conditions, where voting frequency is low, the results achieved by Reagan amount to an undisputed victory in his fight for the second term.

No doubt everyone expected President Reagan's victory. All public opinon polls had indicated that most voters supported the Republican Party. On the eve of the election the issue that absorbed the political circles in Washington was whether Reagan would achieve an unprecedented success by defeating Mondale in all the 50 states and whether Mondale might be able to win a majority in at least a few states....

No doubt most voters voted for the incumbent president for various reasons, including the sudden improvement in the U.S. economic situation, which is always of decisive importance for the country's mood. It is true that the October data showed that U.S. unemployment remained at the 7.4 percent level, which means that millions and millions of adults of a productive age continue to look for jobs, but the present employment situation is better than it was 2 years ago. At the same time, the fact that the astronomic expenditures of Reagan's arms program have resulted in a gigantic deficit that hangs like a sword of Damocles over the U.S. economy is of little import to the average voter, if he knows at all about this deficit....

However, it would be a mistake to assume that those who voted for Reagan supported only his economic policy. In his election campaign Reagan also banked on U.S. big-power chauvinism and proudly boasted of "liberating" Grenada as proof of the efficacy of his foreign policy of "strength." However, aware of the fact that his belligerence might frighten off some of his voters who realize what a horrible threat a nuclear war would be for the United States, Reagan promised in his election speeches that he would engage in disarmament negotiations with the USSR during his second term. There is no doubt that these, as yet verbal, declarations won for him a number of undecided voters at the last moment. However, it is difficult to maintain that this was of decisive significance. Reagan won his victory primarily because of the support given to his brutal policy of strength, which threatens peace, by the voters inspired by big-power chauvinism. For the Reagan administration this election result will no doubt be an encouragement in continuing the present policy of the arms race, brutal force, and Washington's hegemony wherever this is possible.

It is therefore easy to foresee that even if the indefatigable efforts of the USSR and the Warsaw Pact states result in a resumption of disarmament negotiations in the field of medium-range nuclear missiles, and this can happen, there is no doubt that Reagan's second term will be marked by the expenditure of increasingly larger funds to produce increasingly newer, more costly, and more deadly weapon systems. The election is for Reagan a kind of blank check, which unfortunately will have to be paid by U.S. society and other societies as well.

The consequences of the continuing arms race will no doubt place a burden on the entire development of the international situation during Reagan's second term. It is easy to foresee that Washington will continue to interfere in the affairs of the Latin American countries and that the U.S. Navy and Marines will make their appearance wherever Washington usurps for itself the right to allegedly "defend U.S. interests." It is also easy to foresee that the United States will continue its hostile policy vis-a-vis the socialist states, the independent states of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and the revolutionary and national liberation movements.

Of course, these prospects will certainly not improve the external conditions under which the Warsaw Pact countries, especially Poland, aer building socialism. Continuing together with the USSR and the other socialist countries the efforts to improve the international political atmosphere and relations with the United States, we must all the same be prepared to further oppose the hostile attacks and all kinds of manifestations of ill will on the part of the White House.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY: No Changes

AU121755 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 8 Nov 84 p 5

[Ewa Boniecka commentary: "Reagan's America"]

[Text] Following a 2-year election campaign, the extensively publicized debates between the candidates, and the expenditure of tens of millions of dollars on television publicity, America has elected its president for the next 4 years. One could say that nothing has changed. The White House will be presided over the most conservative president since Hoover. Reagan has announced that the continuation of his policy will signify an "optimistic future" for the United States, which means a strong and armed America, prosperity for the rich, and the intensification of the process of right-wing activities in the social area.

Mondale, Geraldine Ferraro, and the Democratic program were rejected. Even women, who were presumed by some circles to want to vote for Ferraro, the first women candidate for the post of vice president, went for Reagan.

Conservative America does not want any cahnges. The Democratic Party was unable to win the electorate for its program of the "welfare state" and a return to a more equitable socioeconomic philosophy.

However, it is significant that conservative America is afraid of a further arms race, of the possibility of a nuclear conflict, and of the present state of relations with the USSR. There is not doubt that Reagan was bound to realize these facts, and that is why he promised to begin a dialogue with the USSR. Since he has not done this for the first time, the future will show whether he will keep his promises in action.

However, the fact that the present balance of power in Congress has not changed, since the Democrats still hold a majority in the House and the Republicans control the Senate, indicates that the turn toward Reagan does not mean that he has received a blind mandate for all the aspects of his policy. The Democrats have suffered a crushing defeat, but they may use Congress to issue warnings against the policy of confrontation and uncontrolled armaments.

Little Difference in Reagan, Mondale

AU121801 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Nov 84 p 7

[Wlodzimierz Lozinski Washington dispatch: "No Alternative"]

[Text] Both the entire election campaign and the ideological uncertainty of the Democrats, which dates back to the end of the sixties, turned Mondale into a candidate who had no detailed program and no clear and resolutely contrasting image vis-a-vis Republican conservatism. In the concluding statges of the election campaign there was almost no difference beteween Mondale and Reagan on issues such as social policy, the notion of world power and neopatriotism, and increases in military expenditures.

Because they had not been presented with a clear Democratic alternative, most electors preferred to vote for a Republican President, who has almost unlimited support from the old and new right wing. The main reasons for Reagan's success stem from the present conditions in the United States. The economic situation has improved and unemployment has dropped by at least 3 percent in the past 2 years. Although unemployment is still high and amounts to almost 8 percent, which is a great deal considering the present period of development, reduced taxation and social benefits for the poorest people have prevented the material contrasts in America from lessening the popularity of the conservative slogans. Bourgeois America has become convinced that it is possible to prolong the present good economic situation and to magically reduce the budget deficit without increasing taxation and reducing the Pentagon's expenditures.

The present election has demonstrated that R. Reagan has received a strong right-wing mandate under the conditions of minimum participation by the electorate. The next 4 years will show whether the victor will be able merely to continue his dangerous policy, which is in conflict with the interests of the world, or whether he will also demonstrate more realism and pragmatism, which were among the qualities of his two predecessors -- Nixon and Ford.

PAP: Reagan A 'Minority President'

LD091214 Warsaw PAP in English 1119 GMT 9 Nov 84

["Ronald Reagan: Minority President" -- PAP headline]

[Text] Washington, Nov 8 -- (By PAP correspondent Jerzy Gorski) -- It takes a simple calculation to see that out of the 171 million Americans eligible to vote, 116 million, or those who did not take part in the voting and those who cast their vote for Walter Mondale, did not support Ronald Reagan as the Republican candidate for the White House. His mandate as U.S. President, then, continues to be one from a clear minority of the American people.

Mondale, who held his campaign under the motto of greater economic and social justice, received all the votes cast by those with incomes below the poverty line. The Negroes emerged as the most disillusioned group, as they had hoped for support by most of the electorate for their calls for equal rights, more economic justice, and financial assistance. However, the increased activity by the Negro movement and increased Negro registration turned out against them as conservative forces and the extreme right launched a campaign of fear so that an overwhelming majority of the white voters eventually cast their votes for the conservative programme of the Republican Party and Ronald Reagan's welfare policy.

Right-Wingers Behind Reagan

AU121744 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 9 Nov 84 p 7

[Marian Podkowinski Washington dispatch: "Who Has Scored Victory in the United States?"]

[Excerpts] The Republicans continue to celebrate Ronald Reagan's success in every psychological and propaganda way, elevating him almost to the status of a new George Washington, but the old U.S. conservatives and the so-called new American right wing, which has close links with the U.S. obscurantists represented by Senator Helms and the Reverend Jerry Falwell, who is leader of the so-called Moral Majority, are making no secret of the fact that, behind the President's back, they want to intensify still further their antipeace and anti-Soviet campaign.

The leading organs of U.S. reaction such as THE WASHINGTON TIMES and, of course, such a reactionary trumpet as NATIONAL REVIEW, continue not only to ridicule Mondale and his so-called Rooseveltian coalition of liberals, trade unionists, and Negroes, but also to hint at a return to the infamous times of McCarthy.

All those groupings that have declared war on all the progressive forces in the United States and on millions and millions of honest and peace-loving Americans who voted for Mondale for various reasons, including the reason that they had no other alternative, will begin gathering behind the back of the aging Reagan. Data show that Mondale received the votes of the poor, trade unionists (not all of them), Negroes, the so-called rainbow coalition, and large sections of Jewry and other ethnic minorities, although the Republicans made considerable gains among them. However, the petite bourgeoisie and the rich gave their full support to Reagan's policies. The same is true of a large majority of the white Americans for whom Mondale's flirting with colored Americans and the poor was reason enough to shun the Democratic platform.

The elections were won by the America that wants to have no truck with the Democratic camp that had been cemented at one time by Roosevelt and his successors. The Democratic Party, harassed by internal conflicts and the desertion of many politicians, has been unable to hold out against the conservative strata of U.S. society. Although the whites' racism and Pastor Falwell's protestant bigotry have lost their old features and are being revived in apparently less glaring forms, they are just as aggressive under the patronage of Reagan and his establishment.

Foreign Policy Questions Open

AU131026 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 9 Nov 84 p 5

[Ewa Boniecka commentary: "Reagan's Second Term of Office"]

[Excerpts] Ronald Reagan's 1980 victory commenced a conservative chapter in the life of America. It was described at the time as a "right-wing counterrevolution" and a last goodbye to the socioeconomic philosophy of Roosevelt's "New Deal"; but as far as foreign policy was concerned, it was the start of a buildup of military power and an aim to achieve unquestioned strategic superiority over the USSR. Reagan's current victory is not a "new beginning." As the President himself stresses, his goal is "the building of a strong, conservative America."

Of course it is still much too early to speculate on what 73-year-old Reagan's second term will be like and what sort of continuation it will be.

However, there is one thing worth considering. The Republicans entered the election campaign with the most conservative program in decades. This forecasts a firm swing to the right in social policy, confirms plans to build new nuclear weapon systems, and confirms a foreign policy from a position of strength. A lot is being written about a chauvinist fever, reluctance toward liberal philosophy, and a return to glaring laissez-faire capitalism. Thus, Reagan has won the elections perhaps not only because of his broadly publicized popularity, but also because he expresses the right-wing trends dominant in America now.

Therefore one can say that America will have a conservative President until 1988, and a little-altered balance of forces on Capitol Hill until the next congressional elections in 2 years. America will have widening gaps between the rich and the poor.

The good economic situation is being maintained in the shadow of an enormous budgetary deficit, and if taxation is not increased, as Reagan has promised, social programs will have to suffer further financial cuts, which will primarily hit minority groups and black America. The following questions arise concerning foreign policy: Will Congress support U.S. intervention in Nicaragua, and will it allocate further millions of dollars in aid for the El Salvador regime and for the American presence in Grenada? How does Reagan intend to continue his Middle East policy, which has led, among other things, to considerable losses of American soldiers in Lebanon? How will he shape relations with his West European allies, who have expressed the hope, even while sending the President congratulations on his reelection, that he will improve relations with the USSR during his second term and halt the arms race?

There are many similar questions. They also apply to the President's future economic strategy. Not even his closest supporters believe that it will be possible to reduce the budget deficit while continuing the present strategy. Neither is the Republican Party as united as it might appear. The slogans of the extreme right wing concerning the social sphere, the demands that violate the division between church and state, and the strong ideologizing of foreign policy -- all are arousing opposition from the more moderate Republican circles.

The next contest between the Republican and Democrat Parties will be the 1986 congressional elections. Until then Reagan will have to show the voters that he is keeping his promises, both those concerning an improvement in relations with the USSR and the strengthening of world peace, and those that guarantee America an "optimistic future" and general "prosperity." Ronald Reagan's second and last term of office may, according to the terms of the Constitution, turn out to be a sharp trial for American conservatism.

KOR'S MICHNIK ON POPIELUSZKO, SOLIDARITY'S FUTURE

DW131147 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 12 Nov 84 pp 150-153

[Interview with Adam Michnik, A KOR founding member, by Timothy Garton Ash; date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] His first interview following 2 and 1/2 years of imprisonment was given by Adam Michnik, 38, one of the founders of the Polish Committee for the Defense of Workers, KOR, to British journalist Timothy Garton Ash, who was a reporter for DER SPIEGEL in Poland at a time when the "Solidarity" trade union was still legal.

Question: Mr Michnik, what do you have to say about the kidnapping and murder of the priest, Popieluszko?

Michnik: Every Pole is shocked. This act very strongly contradicts Polish tradition. It is so unsual, so outrageous and atrocious that it is actually hard to find the words to express the feelings of abhorrence over this disgusting act, and to express the horror that arises when thinking about people who can commit such a crime.

The "demons" described by Dostoyevskiy are nothing compared to those who have acted here and now. I am not the only one who believes that we are all somehow responsible. The murder was preceded by reprisals and harassment against Father Jerzy. Assassination attempts were directed at Father Jerzy and we all remained silent.

A few weeks ago, "Jan Rem," the pseudonym of Government Spokesman Urban, wrote an article agitating against Father Jerzy. We discussed this article with colleagues, and only sarcasm and disgust toward the author were expressed. None of us had enough imagination to realize that this text was the announcement of murder.

Today I tell myself that if my imagination had been stronger, if I had publicly accused Urban or murderous agitation, I might possibly have been punished for insulting a minister, but Father Jerzy might still be alive. The lesson is that we must not remain silent in the face of such a campaign of hatred. At any rate, I will not remain silent.

Question: Do you hold the Jaruzelski government responsible?

Michnik: The government at the very least, because it has taught state security service functionaries to believe that they can murder without punishment. During the past 1 and 1/2 decades, no state security functionary has been called to account for using violence against a citizen who was behaving as a political opponent.

Question: Can the political consequences of the murder of priest Popieluszko be foreseen?

Michnik: That is impossible. It is the greatest shock since the imposition of martial law on 13 December 1981, which is the only thing it can be compared to. Therefore, reaction can be most varied and unpredictable, such as the consequences of the suppression of the 1976 Radom workers revolt when the initial consequence was the creation of the civil rights movement and the foundation of the Committee for the Defense of Workers, and as an effect of this, 4 years later the "Solidarity" trade union. So the consequences of what has happened cannot be predicted today.

One thing is certain, however. Everyone, even the greatest skeptics, has realized that there is no more urgent task in Poland today than putting an end to the banditry organized by state security service functionaries.

Question: In such a situation, is it proper that Primate Glemp above all is calling for law and order?

Michnik: It is not for me to judge actions of the head of the Polish church. I realize the intention behind these calming words. Poland needs calm; the church needs calm. However, if I had to formulate my own definition of the calm Poland needs, I would have to say that there will be no calm in Poland as long as political banditry remains surrounded by an aura that promotes it.

Question: What promotes terrorism?

Michnik: An atmosphere in which those conducting it feel that they are exempt from punishment. No reasonable person in Poland can assume today that their superiors in the Interior Ministry will end this condition of impunity.

This condition of impunity can only be ended through very determined public opinion, including the voices of the bishops. The path toward calmness does not lead over some kind of appeasement of the general mood. It can be achieved only through a movement with the goal of subjecting the security apparatus to control by society. Poland's entire historical experience teaches that appeals for calm, regardless of why such appeals are made, can in practice become calls for unrest. The people will not be calm if they are told that they must remain calm in the face of murder.

Question: After more than 2 and 1/2 years of imprisonment, you have now traveled through the country; have met with many people, and have listened to their views. What changes did you find in the Poles' awareness; what has remained of "Solidarity?"

Michnik: Everything that was the most important has remained. Those elements that joined for career reasons have left "Solidarity." Those people have remained who identify with "Solidarity's" ideas about a democratic republic for Poland with true self-administration.

This is a strong movement; it knows its goals, and it knows that it can survive long enough to achieve them. It is a union of determined and wise people. Anyone who believes now, almost 3 years after imposition of martial law, that "Solidarity" can be liquidated is wrong.

Question: Is there not also a feeling of helplessness in terms of a strategy for today or tomorrow?

Michnik: There is a feeling that we should wait for clear formulas and search for methods of overt action. "Solidarity's" activities have so far been based on underground structures. New forms, such as overt action, are now emerging although they are illegal under current law, and must be conducted openly no matter whether the respective voivodship councils consider this to be in line with legal stipulations, such as the law on association.

I would like to stress that the course of reason has gained the upper hand in "Solidarity" and it will not seek confrontation with the state power. I believe that within "Solidarity" there is the conviction that through our current actions we are in fact creating an independent and democratic Poland. Just how independent and democratic this Poland will be will depend on what institutions we will be able to establish and on how we can influence the people's awareness. There is currently no other real way to independence and democracy.

Question: Terror will not be responded to with counterterror?

Michnik: That is what I am afraid of. We must not pay back the banditry of the security functionaries in kind; we must not kidnap our opponents, torture them, or murder them.

Such methods must be left to them. We are not struggling for power, but for the democratic building of our country, and every kind of terrorist activity would lead to moral deterioration and to spiritual ugliness, thus creating an atmosphere in Poland in which we do not want to live. The Poland for which "Solidarity" is struggling has no room for such murders.

The Poles striving for independence and democracy face the following alternatives: Either make a number of difficult and toilsome compromises, or create a stream of blood from which we can only emerge dead as a nation.

Question: Can there be a dialogue between the state power and independent representatives of the people?

Michnik: Whereever there are conflicts, and Poland is a country full of accumulated painful conflicts, there are two ways to solve problems: violence or dialogue. Both sides must be ready for a dialogue. I am deeply convinced that "Solidarity" leaders Lech Walesa and Zbigniew Bujak are prepared for a dialogue. What they want, however, is a discussion among citizens, not between the chief of the prison and his prisoners, because that would be no dialogue.

Question: What do you think of the Western governments' policy toward Poland after the imposition of martial law?

Michnik: For 150-200 years, the approach of the Western states and of Western public toward Poland has never been so loyal and wise as it is now. The conviction always existed in Poland that the West would betray us. This was so in the time of the partition of Poland, in the time of Napoleon, during the national uprisings, and during the time of Yalta. Before 13 December 1981, no one in Poland expected that the West could help us in political catastrophes. What happened thereafter has surprised me.

There is a broad and wonderful movement for solidarity with Poland, for solidarity with "Solidarity," and for help for Poland! There is a realization that things have been happening on our soil that involve not only the future of Poland, but perhaps the future of the entire continent, or even more.

The Western sanctions against the Jaruzelski government have generally been considered to be an act of solidarity with the Polish people and their activities. I believe that the sanctions, if they were intended that way by the Western politicians, have fulfilled their role throughout the entire time.

Question: Should they continue?

Michnik: The fact that we can talk here and that I am sitting in my apartment and not in the Rakowiecka prison is probably thanks among other things, to the policy of sanctions. For this defense of my colleagues and myself I would like to cordially thank all defenders.

Prison has not made me believe that we must remain silent in the face of murder. I am convinced that only clear and open language can save the life of some people and open prison doors for others, as was my case.

LE FIGARO ON EFFECTS OF PRIEST'S MURDER

PM131325 Paris LE FIGARO in French 9 Nov 84 p 6

[Bernard Margueritte dispatch: "Poland" The Government Threatened Again"]

[Text] Warsaw -- After the murder and burial of Father Popieluszko, Poland is no longer the same morally or politically.

Once again the leadership and Poland are at a crossroads. The Poles expect the government to carry things through this time and tell the whole truth.

1. -- Was there a political plot? An initial observation must be made: The date of the crime was very well chosen. It took place on the eve of the Central Committee plenum and, it may have been thought, on the eve of General Jaruzelski's departure for Havana, where a CEMA session was being held at prime minister level (he was finally replaced by his deputy Mr Messner). Some people might therefore have thought the time was right for a provocation aimed at overthrowing the existing team.

What political mind could possibly be behind such a plan? Mr Urban described as "shameful" allusions made by the Western press in this connection to three Politburo members, Mr Milewski, Mr Olszowski, and Mr Siwak. Mr Siwak is in fact, it must be admitted, not intelligent enough to be an efficient plotter. Foreign Minister Olszowski is, on the contrary, too intelligent to be involved in such an enterprise.

Moreover it has been a long time since he broke with the party "hard-liners," who have no hesitation in saying that they regard him as a "traitor." Finally, he was very quick to condemn this "act of terrorism" in a toast which he proposed in honor of the Finnish foreign minister who was visiting Warsaw. As for Mr Milewski, the Politburo has just stripped him of control over security and internal affairs, which have now been placed under Gen Jaruzelski's direct supervision.

Objective Alliance Between Extremists?

2. -- Was there collusion between political extremes, as people would have us believe? One thing is certain: he authors of this provocation wanted to attack the policy of normalization and reforms, and their target was the Jaruzelski regime. These objectives are those of all extremists in Poland, from the neo-Stalinist wing to the opposition extremists. An "objective alliance" between them could, therefore, not be ruled out in advance, especially since two regional Interior Ministry officials have just been arrested in Gdansk for "collusion with clandestine structures."

On the other hand, there is reason to think that, if the plan had succeeded, its authors would have tried to blame "Solidarity extremists," if only to make the people even more angry and aggravate the disturbances. Might not the government, some highly suspicious people suggest, after discovering the plot, punish its real authors but use part of their plan by condemning, for instance, "collusion between extremists?"

In this connection there is reason to wonder about the meaning of Mr Urban's allusions to the fact that former Captain Piotrowski, the main suspect, recently bought an Audi and a Fiat 132 and has a foreign currency account (whcih is surprising for a middle-ranking ministerial official). Will we be told soon, for example, that he was in the pay of Solidarity extremists who are well supplied with dollars?

3. -- Was there foreign participation? This is obviously a delicate point. The Western communist party correspondents are inclined to accept this hypothesis. It is known that the "hard-liners" in fraternal parties, in Prague for example, detest Gen Jaruzelski. Moreover RUDE PRAVO stated from the start that the authors of the crime were to be sought among the Solidarity extremists.

Of course nobody here dreams of implicating the Soviet leadership or even the KGB, but it is known that various factions exist even within that body. For instance it took the Soviet press 10 days to mention the Popieluszko affair, either because they were waiting for developments in the situation in Warsaw, or because the various Moscow clans failed to agree on what attitude to adopt.

Did the objectives of the provocation, therefore, go way beyond Poland's borders, and were its authors aiming to destabilize the political situation, not only in Warsaw but also in Moscow?

Whatever the answer, many Polish journalists admit in private that a plan with such serious consequences could not have been drawn up by the hard-liners" in the party and security services without the assurance of major external support.

Nonetheless, the murderers, their instigators, and even those who, being informed of what was being planned, allowed things to go ahead, not only committed a crime but made a serious political mistake. Indeed the population now has another sanctuary, Saint Stanilaw Church, a place of pilgrimage (Father Popieluszko's grave in front of which Poles from all parts of the country continue to file), and a new martyr.

The Government Paradoxically Strengthened

However, paradoxically, Father Popieluszko's murder has, in the short term, strengthened the government. The public feels it has more credibility because it pointed to the guilty parties, even in the security services, and this is in fact unprecedented.

Even those most hostile to the general are now forced to admit that the Jaruzelski team is certainly the "lesser evil" compared with the party "hard-liners." In addition the state's cooperation not only with the country's church but also with the Vatican (the head of state replied last week to a personal and confidential letter from the holy father) has been strengthened by this trial.

Finally, and most importantly, Gen Jaruzelski can now purge the security services and bring the neo-Stalinists, who have been paralyzing his action from the start, into line once and for all.

It is equally true that the government line will only be really strengthened if, as POLITYKA says, people can see "an unswerving effort to expose the guilty parties...a profound analysis of the ideological context of the event." However, Mr Urban is already not only denying that, as the dead man's parents stated, Father Popieluszko had broken bones, but he is putting forward the hypothesis that the criminals may not have planned the crime in advance but decided to do it -- they were professional "toughs" of the security services -- out of panic at the failure of their plan.

Above all, the Politburo is emphasizing "the total spirit of unity and the full agreement" which exists within it.

Everybody knows that when they keep harping on about the party's unity, it is because it no longer exists. But does this not mean that an attempt is being made to settle things quietly, and internally, without making waves outside...?

It would also mean that the government is once again unwilling -- or unable -- to tell the whole truth about the possible instigators of the provocation in the country or abroad.

It would mean that things would be settled as they were after the attempted coup against Mr Gierek by General Moczar in Olsztyn in May 1971. But in that case the Jaruzelski team would lose the unhoped-for opportunity it now has to return to the path of dialogue and national reconciliation. It must know that its credibility and its future are now at stake.

PZPR POLITBURO EXAMINES 1985 DRAFT CENTRAL PLAN

LD132134 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 13 Nov 84

[Text] The PZPR Central Committee Politburo has been in session. It acquainted itself with the draft central annual plan for 1985. It was stated that the tasks outlined in the plan are fully convergent with the tasks of the 3-year plan and comply with the resolutions of the Central Committee's plenary sessions. The draft plan was the subject of broad social consultation and takes into account comments and conclusions made at these consultations.

The draft plan provides for maintaining the positive trends in economic policy so far, improves efficiency, and above all, assumes progress in regaining economic equilibrium, particularly of the money market and the investment economy. A more than 4 percent increase in goods supplies will serve to improve supplies to the population.

The Politburo discussed tasks resulting from the 17th plenum of the Central Committee. It approved the organization of work and the schedule to implement conclusions and recommendations contained in the resolutions. Conclusions concerning the consolidation of the position in the political system and the role of representative bodies were particularly emphasized.

Resulting from the need to consistently consolidate law and order and respect for the law among governing bodies and citizens, it was recognized as indispensable to strengthen the control by prosecutor and court of the observance of the law by administration bodies, enterprises, and social organizations. Institutions, party organizations, and all party members were obligated to take active part in the current report-back and electoral campaign as part of the self-management links.

The Politburo approved the results of talks between Wojciech Jaruzelski and Janos Kadar and the leadership of the MSZMP, which were held during a working visit of friendship in Budapest.

DELEGATE ADDRESSES UN COMMITTEE ON HUMAN RIGHTS

LD132035 Warsaw PAP in English 1706 GMT 13 Nov 84

[By PAP correspondent Ludwik Arenot]

[Text] New York, Nov 13 -- Poland's representative Wlodzimerz Kalinowski, who addressed the U.N. General Assembly's Committee for Humanitarian Issues, said that "some U.N. member states are trying to use human rights (?for political) ends and as an instrument of interfering in other countries' internal affairs."

In the opinion of the Polish representative lack of progress in genuine observance of human rights stems, among other things, from the fact that many significant instruments of international law have not been ratified by many states yet. Referring to the fact that no Western state has ratified an international convention on combating and punishing the crimes of apartheid so far, the Polish delegate said that "there are also such states among them which, in tune with their political interests pretend to be the main defenders of human rights."

"One should express regret that attempts are still being made to establish supra-national bodies within the U.N. to deal with human rights. The realization of such an intention may lead to a situation in which human rights issues -- instead of uniting states and societies -- will aggravate the international climate."

"It is necessary to do everything to diminish a threat posed to a fundamental human right -- a right to live in peace -- by nuclear arms race and growing tension."

PDRY DELEGATION BEGINS OFFICIAL VISIT 12 NOV

LD121319 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1121 GMT 12 Nov 84

[Excerpts] A special TU-154 plane has just arrived from Berlin. On board is a delegation from the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen [PDRY] including Salim Salih Muhammad, Political Bureau member and secretary of the Yemeni Socialist Party [YSP] Central Committee; Dr 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Dali, Political Bureau member and foreign minster; Riyad al-Akbari, YSP Central Committee member and first secretary of the youth organization, Mahdi 'Abdallah al-Said, chairman of the Supreme Commission of People's Control [as heard] and 'Abd al-Quadir ba Jammal, minister of industry.

The PDRY chairman, 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, was greeted by Wojciech Jaruzelski; Henryk Jablonski; Sejm Speaker Stanislaw Gucwa; Deputy Premiers Roman Malinowski and Edward Kowalczyk; Jozef Czyrek, Zbigniew Messner, Stefan Olszowski, and Marian Wozniak.

Plenary Session Opens

LD122306 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 12 Nov 84

[Excerpt] A PDRY party and state delegation headed by 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, has arrived in Poland on an official visit of friendship. In the afternoon the delegation laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. Also today, Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the party Central Committee, met 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, YSP secretary general. Next, under their chairmenship, a Polish-Yemeni plenary session started at the Central Committee building.

Group Visits Horse Farms

LD132321 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 13 Nov 84

[Text] During its second day in Poland, the PDRY party and state delegation led by 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, has visited Skierniewice Voivodship, where it toured the state horse stud farm in Walewice and then paid a visit to the Przyszlosc agricultural cooperative in Sobota.

Walewice is one of the leading centers for horse-breeding of Anglo-Arab mixed-breed horses in our country. The cooperative in Sobota is prepared for production of stud bulls, sows, and poultry. After acquainting themselves with the abovementioned breeding centers, the Yemeni visitors returned to Warsaw.

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES CPSU CC SECRETARY PONOMAREV

AU131838 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 13 Nov 84

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, received Boris Ponomarev, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, who is paying a friendship visit to our country at the invitation of the RCP Central Committee.

On behalf of Comrade Konstantin Chernenko, the guest extended to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu comradely greetings and wishes for health and success in the proceedings of the 13th RCP Congress. Thanking the guest, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu asked him to extend to Comrade Konstantin Chernenko, on behalf of the RCP leadership and himself personaly, cordial greetings and best wishes.

During the meeting, which proceeded in a warm and comradely atmosphere, the sides pointed out with satisfaction the good relations existing between the two parties, countries, and peoples, relations that are developing on the basis of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between the two countries and the agreements reached at the highest level in June 1984. The sides stressed that all prerequisites exist for Romanian-Soviet political, economic, cultural, scientific-technological, and other relations to further develop and diversify and they expressed the determination of the RCP and CPSU, as well as of Romania and the Soviet Union, to do everything to ensure that these traditional relations register an increasingly upward course, to the benefit of the Romanian and Soviet peoples and in the interest of the overall cause of socialism and peace in the world.

During the meeting the sides also discussed certain topical issues of the current international political situation and the world communist and workers movement. They expressed their opinions on the need to intensify the struggle against the danger of war and the arms race and for defending the peace and existence of peoples.

The meeting was attended by Comrade Ion Stoian, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee and secretary of the RCP Central Committee. Yevgeniy Tyazhelnikov, USSR ambassador to Bucharest, was also present.

ANDREI MEETS FRENCH PRESIDENT MITTERRAND

AU131948 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1930 GMT 13 Nov 84

[Text] Paris, AGERPRES 13/11/1984 — Stefan Andrei, Romanian foreign minister, who is paying an official visit to France, was received by President Francois Mitterrand. From President Nicolae Ceausescu a warm salute and best wishes were conveyed to the president of the French Republic.

Thanking warmly for the message received, France's president asked that the Romanian head of state be conveyed his cordial salute and best regards.

During the interview, the joint wish was expressed to expand and deepen the Romanian-French dialogue and to further develop trade exchanges and economic, industrial and technico-scientific cooperation, on third markets included, starting from the two countries' current potential. During the exchange of views on the international issues, stress was laid on the importance of starting effective disarmament negotiations for the cessation of the arms race and a passage to practical measures, of nuclear disarmament in the first place, on the need for the consolidation of the climate of peace, security and cooperation in Europe and the world over and for measures concerning the eradication of economic underdevelopment and the settlement of the developing countries' problems, of the foreign debt in particular, of the poorest countries' debts above all.

It was stressed that all states should have an active role in settling major international issues and that the development of cooperation between Romania and France was important for a policy of peace, disarmament and detente in Europe and the world over.

The interview passed in a friendly atmosphere.

RADU VOINEA ELECTED NEW ACADEMY CHAIRMAN

AU131915 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1837 GMT 13 Nov 84

[Excerpt] Bucharest AGERPRES 13/11/1984 -- The general meeting of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania was convened on November 13, 1984. Academician Radu Voinea was elected president of the academy. During the proceedings a survey was made of the academy's activity in 1984 and of the guidelines for 1984. The participants in the meeting endorsed a telegram addressed to President Nicolae Ceausescu.

WORK FORCE, PAY INCREASES VIEWED POSITIVELY

AU131115 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0955 GMT 13 Nov 84

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 13/11/1984 -- The vast investment programme turned material [as received] over recent five-year plan periods, the strong development of industry, constructions, transports and services and their improved distribution in the territory have led to a considerable rise in the number of personnel in all the countries. Over the 1950-1983 period more than 5.4 million new jobs have been created with direct positive effects on the social emancipation of the whole people, improving the standard of living and civilization in general. In 1983 the number of working personnel was up by 260,000 as to 1965. While the country's total number of personnel in 1983 was up 76 per cent as to 1965. The rise was much more marked in the previously less developed countries: Salaj -- 166 percent, Bistrita-Nasaud -- 155 percent, Olt -- 140 percent, Botosani -- 135 percent, Covasna -- 130 percent, Vaslui -- 123 percent, etc. The population working in industry and other nonagricultural sectors has become dominant in most of the countries. The nonagricultural population went up from 50.9 percent in 1970 to 62.2 percent in 1975 and 71 percent in 1983. Naturally this is a change in point of quantity but it mirrors ample quality changes and bears directly on the people's quality of life -- improvements in the work conditions, enhancement of the incomes by involving the people in the industrialization process and in activities requiring a higher standard of training. With the creation of new job opportunities an increasingly larger number of family members get jobs and the outcome is a higher income per family. Real incomes -- a synthetic index that pictures the image of welfare -- were six times larger in 1983 than in 1950. The last rise in the remunerations of all the working personnel, an action concluded in August 1984, correlated with an evolution of prices under the planned level, has led to a more than six percent rise in the real remuneration in 1984 as to 1980. Meanwhile the volume of state-budget-funded spending on social and cultural activities amounts to some 12,700 lei per family up from 10,440 lei in 1980. These achievements that serve the population of the whole country have helped the purchase of a greater volume of goods.

The amount of goods sold per inhabitant in 1965 went up to 3000 lei in 21 counties and to more than 5000 lei in just three counties. In no county the annual sales of goods stood lower than 5,000 lei in 1982.

The strong industrial development of all the counties, the general improvement in the distribution of the productive forces in the territory resulted in a greater standard of urban development. At present more than half of the country's population -- 52.1 percent to be precise -- live in urban areas, up from 33.7 per cent in 1965 and 49.6 per cent in 1980. Thousands of new homes have been built in each county, in each locality, totalling nearly five millions over the 1951-1983 interval.

This is what a better distribution of the productive forces in the territory has meant in point of a more rational use of the workforce and a more equitable distribution of incomes.

LIGHT INDUSTRY DEVELOPMENT SINCE 1980 REVIEWED

AU131029 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0950 GMT 13 Nov 84

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 13/11/1984 -- Over 1981-1984 the light industry benefited from investments which amounted to 14,300 billion lei, by means of which 169 new production units were commissioned.

As compared to 1980, in 1984 considerable increases have been registered with its main products: 1.6 percent with wool fabrics, 17.7 percent with carpets, 16.4 percent with knitwear, 26.6 percent with textile garments, 1.4 percent with footwear, 38.5 percent with leather items, and 20.1 percent with earthenware. As a matter of fact, the per capita average production of cotton and wool fabrics (32.8 sq. m and 5.6 sq. m respectively) manufactured in Romania in 1978 were comparable with those made in Czechoslovakia or in the GDR, superior to those manufactured in the USSR, Japan and the FRG. In 1970 already, the per capita average production of footwear (3.5 pairs) was comparable or superior to that turned out in a series of developed countries in 1980. Now Romania ranks among the first six world producers in this respect.

Following the steady concerns for meeting consumption requirements, the products of the light industry have continually been diversified, which shows in the larger number of sorts manufactured in 1984 -- 330 percent -- then in 1980, the share of new and redesigned products in the total marketable output standing at 10 percent.

This branch's contribution to the Romanian exports has grown correspondingly. In 1982, Romania exported glassware, fine ceramics, garments, textiles and knitwear worth more than eight billion lei as well as 92.6 sq. m of fabrics, 3.7 billion sq. m carpets, 22.6 million pairs of footwear.

Priority has been given to the qualitative factors, which shows in an 8.1 percent higher productivity in 1984 than in 1980, 66.3 lei lower material expenditure in 1,000 lei marketable production, 21 percent higher raw matrials, fuel and energy capitalization degree.

In the 1981-1984 interval, over 833 research projects were developed, of which 723 new and updated technologies, worth mentioning among them being non-conventional open-end spinning, non-conventional shuttleless weaving, ultrasound and microwave foam finishing, automatic model-setting.

According to the draft directives of the Thirteenth RCP Congress, the production of the light industry will grow at an average annual rate of 5.5-5.8 per cent. Substantial increases are envisaged for 1990 as to 1985 with its main products like 116-123 per cent with fabrics, 125-130 per cent with knitwear, 130-140 per cent with textile garments and 106-114 per cent with footwear.

DEFENDANTS INTERROGATED IN CONSPIRACY TRIAL

LD140040 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1531 GMT 13 Nov 84

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Nov (TANJUG) -- The trial of six persons charged with conspiring to carry out hostile activity continued in Belgrade District Court today when the defendants, Gordan Jovanovic and Pavlusko Imsirovic, were interrogated.

The youngest of the accused, Gordan Jovanovic (23), said first that he did not understand the indictment, or what the charge against him was. He allegedly did not understand what an illegal meeting or counterrevolutionary position...were. After Zoran Stojkovic, president of the council of judges, gave a brief explanation of the indictment, Jovanovic said that he "understood almost everything" but that he was not aware of any evidence for what he had been charged with. He maintained that he had taken part in no illegal meeting, saying that "there are lots of meetings being held every day, from those in youth organizations and local communities to meetings of friends and friendly conversations."

Jovanovic also tried to insinuate that the prosecution allegedly used the fact that he had known certain people to deduce that those people also belonged to the hostile group. He then made an extremely tasteless joke at the public prosecutor's expense for which he was reprimanded by the president of the council of judges and asked to behave decently.

Danilo Nanovic then asked for the prosecution how Jovanovic got hold of Aleksa Djilas' article "Democratic Reforms". The article, which was published in the hostile emigree journal NASA REC even though banned in our country, was found in Jovanovic's apartment. Jovanovic replied that he had "found it in his mail box."

The next question put by the prosecutor about whether he had noticed an inscription in the book saying "To Gordan -- Boris" remained unanswered since the defense council objected vehemently claiming that the question "was outside the scope of the indictment." Their reaction was so excessive that the president of the council of judges, Stojkovic, was forced to fine lawyer Drago Demsar 1,000 dinars and to issue a warning to lawyer Vladimir Seksa for insulting the public prosecutor.

The council rejected the defense demand that the prosecutor be denied the right to pose that question or some other questions concerning the journal [name indistinct], some issues of the emigree journal NASA REC, and other documents found in Jovanovic's apartment. The president of the council defended the decision on the grounds that the indictment also concerns the distribution and public reading of various documents of hostile character and since the above-mentioned journals could be described as such, the prosecutor's questions are within the scope of the indictment. As the president of the council specified, Jovanovic did not have to answer these questions if he did not want to.

The trial continued with the interrogation of Pavlusko Imsirovic. He barely adhered to the indictment in his written defense speech, and persistently tried to describe the investigation and legal proceedings as illegal. He rejected all the individual charges in the indictment calling them "unsubstantiated," and said that he was not going to say anything more in his defense.

The trial continues tomorrow.

TRIAL OF SIX INTELLECTUALS, DJILAS ROLE VIEWED

AU132145 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Nov 84 p 8

[M.S. commentary: "His Masters' Voice"]

[Text] On the occasion of the Belgrade trial, a number of loudmouthed "fighters" for human rights and freedoms have recently been attacking, with unbelievable arrogance, the freedom and integrity of a court in an independent, sovereign, and free country.

The trial we will leave to the court, of course, but we are warning that extreme aggressiveness and militancy is being carried out under the mask of humanism and democratic feelings.

This only seems to be paradoxical and unusual. Its essence is easily recognizable. An old script, well-known and rehearsed many times before, is now repeated. Both the intentions and the actors in it are old and well known. Probably the only new thing is that no longer is the present pressure on the court exerted only from a distance. Those people who attacked socialism, independence, and the integrity of the SFRY before, are this time trying to do it insolently from near by, here, in the country itself.

Not in the least unexpectedly, Milovan Djilas readily joined this activity, as he has already done for years when needed by others. He did it this time as well, as the "voice" of his masters. And he did so at the moment they assessed as most suitable for a new hullabaloo. On the eve of the trial itself, he gave a statement to Norwegian television, and it generously offered the statement to Eurovision members. The assessments that he aired were of the type which time always convincingly negates in case he does not have time to do so himself.

Ephemeral in its "clairvoyance," as were many previous ones, attack by Djilas is of interest to us only as confirmation of the undeniable fact that the present assaults on Yugoslavia are planned for synchronization.

Nothing seems to be overlooked in this synchronization: The arrival of various "officials" and representatives from abroad, the theatrical presence of Djilas and his wife, and the rally in the courtroom of an old, well-known company, several professors, anarcho-liberals, anarchists.... Thus, everything only became more recognizable and obvious. The trial is one thing, but all this is something else, overt and aggressive.

Only one thing has been overlooked: This country is what it is and, despite everything, for all these years it has been its own and has been unshakably independent. It has always been and has remained this way simply because it has never accepted anyone's pressure or extortion. It does not accept this now as well.

PRESIDENCY LETTER TO ASSEMBLY ON DEVELOPMENT

LD131957 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1007 GMT 13 Nov 84

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Nov (TANJUG) -- In connection with the forthcoming discussion to determine the socioeconomic development of Yugoslavia in 1985, the SFRY Presidency has sent a letter to the SFRY Assembly. The letter says:

Having discussed at several of its sessions the socioeconomic situation and especially the basic questions that are important in determining the policy of socioeconomic development in 1985, the SFRY Presidency has decided the situation in this area requires all responsible factors in our society to intensify their activity in establishing and implementing the socioeconomic development policy in 1985. Proceeding from its constitutional role and bearing in mind the need to increase the efforts, better organization, and greater coordination of work by all the protagonists of constitutional powers and their greater mobility in the main direction of the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program implementation, the SFRY Presidency has decided tc address itself to the SFRY Assembly in this way in connection with the discussion to determine our economic policy for 1985.

1. In noting the initial good results in the revival of economic activity, improvement in the payment balance sheet situation and foreign liquidity of the country, and in the way production and expenditure have been adapted to stabilization demands, the SFRY Presidency points out that we are entering next year with unfavorable tendencies in economic developments and with considerable material restrictions for the implementation of development and economic policy objectives.

For that reason and because there are certain differences on some questions pertaining to the economic stabilization program, because of the delays in its implementation, and bearing in mind unchanged unfavorable international, political, and economic circumstances, it is indispensable that all the factors taking part in establishing the 1985 socioeconomic development policy should become involved in a most responsible way to ensure that the accord on all systemic solutions and economic policy measures that determine the conditions of our economic operations next year will be attained as soon as possible. All this imposes an even greater requirement to intensify the responsibility for timely coordination, determination, and implementation of joint interests in the federation. This is fully in keeping with the requirements of the working class and working people at this point of time.

The Presidency stresses the need for strict respect for constitutional provisions in the solution of questions upon which the republics and provinces must agree, coupled with the simultaneous opposition to the demands for the application of the consensus in cases where this is not required by the Constitution. In view of the fact that some systemic solutions of the first stage of the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program, judging by the level of preparations so far, cannot be determined by the end of the year (foreign currency system, the credit and monetary system, the planning system, and the channeling of profits into development), the intensive work on their adoption must be continued without delay so that they can be adopted as soon as possible. The SFRY Presidency believes that the SFRY Assembly should lay down an adoption program for these regulations.

Proceeding from its constitutional authority whereby, in order to implement the equality of our nations and nationalities it must coordinate the joint interests of the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces, the SFRY Presidency, in keeping with its federation responsibilities, will contribute to the efforts of the SFRY Assembly and the Federal Executive Council to coordinate the stands and agree on appropriate solutions as soon as possible.

2. In noting that the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program tasks are being implemented slowly, the SFRY Presidency stresses that the efforts and the overall social mobility and organization must be strengthened in order to more efficiently implement the agreed economic stabilization policy. The deadlines for implementing the remaining first stage tasks and the program of work relative to the implementing of the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program second stage must be established with the resolution on development in 1985.

The Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program as a whole presupposes reciprocally coordinated changes in our economic system, in our economic and development policy, and in the conduct of all subjects of social reproduction. Inadequate synchronization in adopting measures pertaining to the first stage of the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program and the fact that they were only partially adopted, not only cannot produce the expected effects but can make the situation worse and encourage hostility toward economically justified measures. All this imposes during our work ahead the requirement to ensure the comprehensive nature and reciprocal coordination of activities and measures on the implementation of the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program.

Bearing in mind the facts that some hesitation and even resistance to the implementation of the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program have not been eliminated, the Presidency is stressing once again that without the introduction of the economic criteria of our economic operations, which are an essential condition in strengthening economic motivation and drive and achieving more efficient business conduct and use of internal reserves in our economy and society, it will not be possible to overcome the basic factors that have caused serious problems and difficulties in the economy of our country or indeed to offer broader scope for the full affirmation of socialist self-management relations.

3. The SFRY Presidency agrees that when the policy of socioeconomic development for 1985 is established and the economic policy objectives, tasks, and measures are defined one should proceed from a critical assessment of the implementation of the objectives established by the resolution for 1984, from a realistic evaluation of the problems and tendencies being carried forward into the ensuing period and also from a realistic assessment of the conditions and possibilities for the implementation of the first stage of the stabilization programme during the next year.

The SFRY Presidency believes that during the period ahead we should orientate ourselves to the implementation of some key objectives and tasks, among which the following are the most important:

-- maintenance of dynamic growth in industrial production and an appreciable increase in food production coupled with an improvement in supplying the market with food produce;

-- vigorous export orientation, an increase in foreign currency inflow under all headings, and the ensuring of a surplus in our country's payment balance sheet;

-- adoption of comprehensive measures to strengthen the material position of the economy, by easing the burden of excessive legal and contractual commitments, and its financial consolidation; all realistically possible measures must be established by the end of the year in order to support financial consolidation of the economy, bearing in mind also the very unfavorable position of our economy in economically underdeveloped socialist republics and in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo;

-- to arrest a further decline in real personal income and to ensure its real growth where the growth of labor productivity permits, coupled with consistent application of the distribution of income according to the results of work and with the broadest possible support for productive and creative work;

-- more efficient implementation of the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program guidelines in the area of social policy;

-- establishment of more favorable conditions for faster development of the craft industry in the social and private sector with a view to satisfying more extensively social needs and greater employment.

-- bearing in mind the major socioeconomic importance and the weight of the unemployment problem, the SFRY Presidency attaches special importance to the adoption of a social accord on the basis of a joint policy in the employment area, and it also stresses the need for all signatories of the accord to establish in time the operative programs for its implementation.

To curb the causes of inflation and to eliminate its destructive consequences on the trends of social reproduction and on the position of workers in associated labor must be the backbone of our economic policy and of all social activities next year. This is a paramount task of all self-management and state organs and of our working people of citizens in their self-management organizations and communities. Proceeding from that, the resolution and other documents on 1985 socioeconomic development should contain the kind of economic policy that would ensure a reduction in the rate of inflation and in so doing establish more favorable conditions for the implementation of the objectives of economic stabilization next year.

The implementation of the 1985 objectives and tasks and the fullest possible application of economic criteria, with additional effort required by the export orientation of production, will be possible only with further measures to redistribute the income to the advantage of the economy; and also as a result of the better use of capacities, of enhancing labor productivity, and as a result of improving the economic aspect of business operations, the necessary scope will be created whereby organizations of associated labor can adapt themselves to the fiercer conditions of economic operations. Without this income redistribution and without more efficient business operations we cannot take the next decisive step in implementing the long-term program.

The decisive condition and one of the most important preconditions for the consolidation of associated labor organizations' economic positions for further development and consolidation of self-management socioeconomic relations and for labor and resources on the unified Yugoslav market to be pooled is to overcome the socioeconomic conditions that are to the advantage of consolidation of estatism at all levels and of bureaucratic-technocratic collusion in decisionmaking on social reproduction.

4. The SFRY Presidency believes that the starting foundations of the program of the consolidation of foreign liquidity of the country should be based on the resolute orientation that by the end of 1990 the degree of our country's indebtedness be reduced into an economically feasible framework. The most important task of this program and of the measures designed to ensure its implementation is constantly to increase the inflow of foreign currency, especially in the convertible currency area of payments which is the basic condition for fulfulling our commitments vis-a-vis our creditors and a dynamic development of our economy on a sound basis. In so doing we must carry out substantial changes in our export policy in keeping with the long-term strategy of our country's economic relations with foreign countries. This implies a substantial improvement in our export structure to the advantage of final products, rational substitution of imports and considerably more efficient and organized efforts of our economy on the foreign market. On this basis and on the basis of the already attained results on consolidating the foreign liquidity of our country and in fulfilling its commitments toward our foreign creditors, Yugoslavia will insist on more favorable conditions for the repayment of debts both as regards the repayment deadlines and the level of the interest rates and other expenditure with our partners abroad.

5. The SFRY Presidency stresses in particular that to raise the level of self-management organization of our economy, in order more rationally to share social work and to have the unified Yugoslav market function more efficiently, is one of the most important conditions for the implementation of our socioeconomic development and stabilization policy objectives.

In this respect the present state is unsatisfactory. However, social action designed to overcome this situation is inadequately organized, particularly within associated labor and its associations. The autarchic nature of the trends of reproduction and development is one of the essential reasons for the low productivity of labor and unsatisfactory efficiency in the way the economy is run. This has reduced the possibility for improvement in the international division of labor. Unlike this situation, firmer links on the basis of joint income and revenue of the organizations of associated labor within reproduction and income-dependent entities -- ranging from primary production and processing to the sale of products, especially as regards exports -- is one of the most important conditions for the export orientation of the economy and for enhancing the quality of production.

Promotion of business operations and the fullest possible functional merger and self-management association of large technical and technological systems, especially in the electricity industry, in rail transport, and in post, telephone, and telegraph traffic is of special importance. The Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program envisages a meaningful promotion of their work as a significant condition to raise the level of efficiency of our economy as a whole. The economy is paying dearly for its present non-rational setup through growing costs and inadequate quality of its services. Hence the need for this task to be established as an important commitment in our policy of socio-economic development in 1985.

Little has been done on the rationalization program to improve the banking in order to enable it to be organized in such a way as to function in keeping with the requirements of associated labor which is one of the important requirements in the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program. The present territorial organization of banking, among other things, makes it difficult to overcome the statist and techno-bureaucratic tendencies and to eliminate the impact of extra-economic factors in the sphere of extended reproduction. The efforts to overcome the situation cannot be put off, and it will be necessary for the 1985 development policy to establish in greater detail the tasks and the commitments in this respect and who their protaganists will be.

Bearing in mind the great importance of raising the level of self-management organization of our economy to implement the objectives of our socioeconomic development, the SFRY Presidency believes that the SFRY Assembly and the republican and provisional assemblies, in their discussions about our economic policy for 1985 and about the measures for its implementation, should pay full attention to the establishment of favorable conditions for, and the elimination of, the obstacles to faster self-management integration and a rational division of social work in the unified Yugoslav economic area.

6. The SFRY Presidency also would like to point out in this letter some serious problems in the technological development of the country whose solution requires great and organized efforts of our entire society.

The fact that our country is lagging behind in technological development and the further deepening of the technological gap between our economy and the economy of the developed countries is having an increasingly unfavorable impact on our socioeconomic development, and particularly on the position of our country in the international division of labor. This refers particularly to our lagging behind in the development of information science and the information system, microelectronics, computers, automation and robotics and their application in the development programs, and in the technological processes of production and administration. The conditions have to be created for the application of modern technological achievements and of new production methods and equipment in the operations of our economic and other social activities.

A greater influence of science and of technological process on the growth of production and on the efficiency of the way the economy is run can be achieved through a consolidation of the position of associated labor in social reproduction and through a high level of organization of science and of links between scientific institutions and manufacturers and consumers of technological progress. For all these reasons all necessary measures have to be taken to devise and efficiently apply social accord on the basis of the strategy of the technological development, particularly by coordinating the efforts of the manufacturers in mastering and applying modern technological achievements. A radical change in the attitudes of our society toward contemporary technological progress is required, and so is the coordination of all regulations with the requirements of an accelerated technological development. The entire system of education has to be adapted to that. The basic material conditions for a change in the situation in this area are to go in for a functional amortization and such changes in the regulations concerning joint investments and the regime of the import of knowledge and equipment which will make it possible for our economy to be equipped with modern technology in line with the greatest possible application of domestic scientific achievements. All this should protect us against excessive technological and economic dependence.

7. When determining, implementing, and further developing the tax system ard tax policy, it is vital to bear in mind not only their economic but also their socio-class character. It is therefore necessary, the SFRY Presidency emphasizes, to reach an agreement on the tax system and tax policy as soon as possible so that new republican and provincial regulations concerning this sphere can come into force on 1 January 1985. It is the duty of the agreement signatories to ensure that the decisions contained in the agreement on the tax system and tax policy are consistently implemented. It is of particular social and political importance at the present stage that they be implemented efficiently and consistently. At the same time, it is necessary to continue organized work on the further development of the tax system and tax policy and speed up the drafting of regulations on taxing unearned income derived from real estate transactions between private persons. An inadequate tax policy and shortcomings in the work of municipal social revenue organs and appropriate republican and provincial inspectorates have in recent years made large-scale unscrupulous tax evasion possible which enables some people to get rich by speculation.

Therefore by strengthening municipal social revenue organs and better organizing republican and provincial tax inspectorates, the work of these bodies should be improved and their efficiency increased in implementing the tax policy. This calls for the cadre, technical, and material training of social revenue organs and inspectorates, adequate remuneration, and legal protection of their officials from possible disruptions which they might encounter while performing their duty.

8. The efficient and qualitative fulfillment of the legally and constitutionally determined role and authority of the state and state organs has become extremely important in the present situation when we are faced with manifestations of inconsistent implementation of the adopted measures of our economic policy, failure to implement legal and other regulations, inadequate protection of the system of socialist self-management and social property, inconsistency in the work of inspection organs and the like. Any decline in the state functions, which are determined in exact terms by the Constitution and law, has had and will continue to have negative social and political consequences. We have frequently witnessed a failure to differentiate between the struggle against etatistic and techno-bureaucratic tendencies and the efforts by state organs at all levels to perform their constitutionally and legally established functions. For this reason it is necessary to consolidate the organization of state organs and the quality and efficiency of their work, as well as to enhance their responsibility imposed upon them by constitutional and legal regulations.

In this connection most importance should be attached to those measures that could ensure a consistent implementation of regulations and respect for law in all the spheres of social life and in all sociopolitical communities. In this respect the SFRY Assembly and the Federal Executive Council, as well as the republican and provincial assemblies and their executive councils, are expected to shoulder most of the responsibility and to play an important part.

Proceeding from the provisions of Article 318 of the SFRY Constitution, the SFRY Presidency proposes that the SFRY Assembly examine these issues during the debate on joint economic policy for 1985.

The SFRY Presidency has also informed the Federal Executive Council of its views and the initiative it has launched so as to enable the Federal Executive Council to prepare and propose on time the foundations for the 1985 socioeconomic development policy and the regulations that would bring our economic system in line with the requirements of economic stabilization.

The SFRY Presidency has also sent information to the republican and provincial presidencies so as to enable them to take appropriate steps in republican and provincial organs to facilitate a timely drafting and consistent implementation of the joint policy of socioeconomic development in 1985.

President of the SFRY Presidency

Veselin Djuranovic

PLANNING INSTITUTE ANALYZES JAN-SEP PRODUCTION

LD132317 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1215 GMT 13 Nov 84

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Nov (TANJUG) -- In the first 9 months of this year industrial production increased by 5 percent. The greatest growth was in the production of energy and raw materials and in export-related sectors. Among other things, this point is stressed in the so-called October analysis submitted to the Yugoslav Assembly today. This is a lengthy document drawn up by the Federal Institute for Social Planning. It deals with the realization of the socioeconomic development policy in 1984 and assesses the prospects for development in the coming year.

The relatively high growth of production has been achieved primarily because of higher imports of raw materials and semifinished goods in the last quarter of 1983 and throughout this year. Production was also helped by the commissioning of many new raw material and energy projects and the somewhat better exploitation of the existing capacities.

In agriculture there has been a good grain harvest, but the production of industrial crops has not been satisfactory. It is particularly important that very high yields of wheat per hectare have been achieved. A corn harvest of almost 11 million metric tons is expected. The production of oil-seed will not be enough to meet the domestic needs in cooking oil.

In the January-September period exports were increased overall by 4 percent, with a 9 percent increase in exports to the convertible currency area. Exports to the developed countries saw a particularly large increase: 24 percent. Imports were increased by 3 percent. The failure of the growth of exports to match up to forecasts is a result of the breakdown in the functioning in the foreign currency market and the problems concerning payments in accordance with the agreed reproduction needs, as well as unresolved questions in crediting export of equipment, ships, and investment projects abroad.

Nevertheless, from January to September 1984 a surplus in the balance of payments of $289 million has been achieved, (?with this figure standing at) more than $700 million where the convertible currency area is concerned. The commitments toward foreign countries have been met regularly. The overall debt to foreign countries has been reduced by $30 million, while in the smae period in 1983 the debt had increased by $570 million. The turnabout is clear, especially as foreign currency reserves are also growing.

Prices continue to rise without restraint. In the first 9 months of 1984, in comparison with the same period in 1983, wholesale prices increased by 56.6 percent, retail prices went up by 67 percent, and the cost of living grew by 54.4 percent. In the planners' assessment, inflation is now higher than at any time since the war. Of crucial importance to the growth of prices and inflation are the enormous costs of economic operation and the low level of labor productivity as a whole. There are other numerous factors: the slide in the dinar's rate of exchange and high interest rates, fast increase of losses, irrational conduct in the sphere of economic relations with foreign countries, and so on.

The economy's commercial results, according to the final accounts for the first 6 months of 1984, are worse. Admittedly, the growth in overall revenue, income, and other categories was high, but it was based on inflationary trends. Economic viability and profitability were down. In income distribution the economy came off worst: its share in income was reduced from 59 percent in the first 6 months of 1983 to 56.1 percent in the same period in 1984. Losses reached 98 billion dinars and, together with losses from the previous year which have still not been made good, amount to 155 billion dinars. The burden of interest has been particularly great: the economy has paid out 305 billion dinars for interest and charged 111 billion dinars for it.

On the basis of these 9 month results and certain preliminary indices for the month of October, it is estimated that, in real terms, the social product will see an increase for the whole of 1984 of 2.2 percent, industrial production will rise by 4 percent, and agricultural production by 2 percent. An overall growth in exports of 7.6 percent is nevertheless envisaged and imported goods and services are expected to rise by 4.8 percent, which is considerably short of the forecasts contained in the resolution for this year. Planners estimate the rate of inflation will hover at about last year's level, even though a significant reduction was envisaged. Net personal incomes and other personal revenue will fall by 6.5 percent, and real income per capita will drop by 8.5 percent.

Despite these assessments of economic trends up to the end of this year, the planners also predict the possibility of development in 1985. This forecast is based on our most important commitment, which is returning a dept of $6.1 billion to foreign countries. Of this, $3.8 billion are the principal and about $2.1 billion interest. In order to meet these commitments a surplus in the current balance of payments of about $1.1 billion dollars has to be achieved in 1985, and the already customary rescheduling carried out. This means that next year we have to achieve a significant increase of exports of goods and services -- 17 percent nominally. Overall foreign currency revenue should exceed $20 billion dollars.

Inflation problems will be greatly exácerbated next year, too, as the long- and short-term causes of price rises are still with us. The basic focus of inflation will be the growth of fixed costs per unit cost and low production levels from the production factors employed. Living standard problems will also appear in a more severe form.

DEFENSE COMMITTEE ENDORSES 1985 DRAFT BUDGET

LD140014 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1309 GMT 13 Nov 84

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Nov (TANJUG) -- The delegates of the SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber Committee for National Defense today endorsed the draft budget of the federation for 1985.

The Committee also examined a draft resolution on socioeconomic development and economic policy in the coming year and a bill on changes and amendments to the law that provides for federation financing for the Yugoslav People's Army in the coming year.

The committee delegates discussed a report on the implementation of the law on military service. In the opening report by the representative of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, Lieutenant Colonel General Novak Vucinic, and in the discussion, questions were raised concerning voluntary military training for women, keeping the list of military training for women, keeping the list of military draftees up to date, reducing the military service period, and problems arising from the transfer to a single period of military service for those who have completed secondary school.

It was decided that these issues would be dealt with in greater detail in a separate report to be presented to the delegates of the assembly by the middle of December of this year.

Admiral of the Fleet Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense, is also expected to speak about some of these questions at a session of the SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber on 21 November of this year.

LJUBICIC: ECONOMIC STABILIZATION, RESPONSIBILITY

AU081856 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Nov 84 p 6

[T. Milic and D. Kocic report]

[Excerpts] Leskovac, 3 Nov -- On the second day of his visit to Leskovac, Nikola Ljubicic, member of the SFRY Presidency, together with his associates and a group of officials from the federation, the SR of Serbia, and the South Morava region, today visited the Leteks and Zele Veljkovic work organizations, where he held talks with representatives of the managing and self-managing organs on the economic and other situations in the textile industry of the Leskovac region and further afield.

Speaking about the priority tasks next vear, Ljubicic said that the basis of everything is that the strategy of relying on one's own forces, on the development and utilization of the domestic energy and raw material potentials, and of employing professional and skilled labor force should be expressed even more. These are our reliable supports which we are still not using enough, Ljubicic said, and continued:

The economic stabilization program calls for certain efforts and self-denials. However, this program is not just a synonym for self-denial, belt-tightening, and restrictions, and there are such interpretations. Stabilization is the struggle for a healthy and strong economy, for an economic strength that guarantees equality in economic relations with the world. This is the struggle for the unity of self-managing production relations to which all isolation, narrow-mindedness, and egoism is alien.

The LCY Central Committee decided that the economic policy measures for next year must be adopted before the end of this year and this position will be carried out. This will introduce more certainty and security in regard to conditions of economic operations. Work on proposed new solutions pertaining to the system is also being accelerated. All this will enable us to continue next year with an increase in production and exports, to ensure an increase in productivity, and on the basis of this to halt the further drop in the standard of living and to ensure its growth.

All these tasks call for a radical strengthening of responsibility, both in production, as well as in social services, the state administration, and in all other fields of social life and work. It is necessary to intensify responsibility for using social funds, for organizing work and utilizing working time, and for maximum economy in the use of materials and money. This responsibility in production and in work will be intensified all the more if the remuneration system also stimulates work, productivity, and quality. For this reason the distribution of income and remuneration according to work are an obligatory part of all efforts and measures to encourage work and responsibility, Nikola Ljubicic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, said in conclusion.

PLANINC SPEAKS ON AGRICULTURE, INDUSTRY, ECONOMY

LD092309 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1713 GMT 9 Nov 84

[Excerpts] Radenci, 9 Nov (TANJUG) -- In the course of her sojourn in the Pomurje region, Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council [FEC], had talks in Radenci with representatives of the municipalities in the Pomurje region and of Maribor economic enterprises. The conversation concerned current issues of agriculture and industry, which are the dominant driving force of development in this region. Commenting on the attainments of the economy of the Pomurje region and Maribor, Milka Planinc expressed satisfaction with the gradual investments in agriculture and crafts, for it has been shown that the underdeveloped regions can seek a way out without illusions about the need for big factory workshops and without daydreams of megalomaniac plans.

In this economic moment, Milka Planinc underlined, it is very important that every organization of associated labor, municipality, and republic acts in a planned manner, and the FEC will, with the SFRY Assembly adopt all conditions for economic activity for next year in good time, before the first of January. The question of refinancing and reprograming our debts for a longer term is an open one at present. Our part of the program, according to Milka Planinc, will soon be sketched out, and we must await the outcome of negotiations with foreign partners. But in any event, a great deal depends on the level of organization and linkage of our economy. Milka Planinc said, inter alia, that no law will give a single dollar or dinar. We must make competitive goods for sale on foreign markets. In other words, we must follow up the first small steps with greater ones, and realize the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program.

Dinar Deposit Scheme Praised

LD131917 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1347 GMT 13 Nov 84

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 13 Nov (TANJUG) -- Milka Planinc, FEC president, said today that the deposit scheme for taking dinars out of the country had played a positive role in surmounting the country's foreign currency difficulties and that the time had now come to reconsider whether this measure should remain in force.

Congratulating the workers of the federal customs administration on the 40th anniversary of their successful operation, Milka Planinc stressed that further changes lay ahead for opening up the country economically and that among the tasks of this service was to give signals as to where administrative obstacles to this could be removed.

Restrictions such as the deposit scheme had been the reflection of a need and not an intention to stimulate autarkic development, Milka Planinc stressed, and reaffirmed Yugoslavia's resolve to remain open toward the world. She added that not all the country's economic problems had been resolved, but that we were well on the way to surmounting them.

ZEMLJARIC, SUKRIJA ADDRESS SAWPY PRESIDIUM

LD122051 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1543 GMT 12 Nov 84

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 12 Nov (TANJUG) -- At today's session the members of the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium endorsed the basic directions in the resolution on the country's socioeconomic development next year. This general support does not mean that there was no criticism. The majority of the participants in the discussion thought that the instruments for realizing the established tasks had not been sufficiently thought through. In fact, the resolution for the coming year did not differ greatly from all the preceding ones, even though the economic and social situation demands this.

The basis of the discussion was provided by the report by Janez Zemljaric, vice president of the Federal Executive Council, who at the very outset said that following this and similar discussions the draft resolution would be considerably augmented. He then stressed that important results had been achieved this year in implementing the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program, but that certain negative tendencies had also found expression. This related in particular to the high level of inflation, which at the start of November had reached 58.4 percent. A further drop in real personal incomes had been registered, no important results had been achieved in internal fiscal consolidation, and exports, especially to the convertible currency area, were lagging considerably behind the planned volume.

Zemljaric said that currently passing through the assembly procedure were several laws to be adopted by the end of the year or in the first quarter of next year. At issue were the law on the social control of prices, the law on foreign currency transactions, and three laws in the sphere of foreign trade transactions. Next year it would be necessary to reschedule certain parts of our debts towards foreign countries, but the intention of reducing these obligations from the present 19 to 16 billion dollars by the year 1990 had not been abandoned. After all, we had decided on vigorous development in the current economic policy as well, and this would be reflected primarily in the further increase of exports.

Turning then to certain unresolved issues, Zemljaric said that they were very important, since they concerned the more efficient economic operation of the country and the surmounting of inflation.

Pointing out that our economy would continue to be burdened by considerable costs next year, having in mind the foreign exchange rate differences, Zemljaric added that we still face the problem of how to finance general and joint expenditures, have no more internal reserves in education, health, science, or culture, and that the right solutions for protecting income in the associated labor organizations had to be found. However, our system of economic operation was irrationally based. This also had an unfavorable effect on the growth of income and led to the increasingly marked loss of motivation to work, the vice president of the Federal Executive Council said.

Taking part in the discussion, Ali Sukrija, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, recalled two important stands at the 14th session of the LCY Central Committee: maximum realism in setting targets and the timely adoption of all the accompanying measures. We have agreed that the LCY Central Committee Presidium would do everything to reach accord if there was ideolopolitical disagreement over individual questions. Of course, Sukrija said, this does not mean that the organs given the task of doing this under the Constitution need not do their job. In his view a key question was how to turn the obvious willingness of the working class to stay on a course of stabilization into aggressive social action. Ali Sukrija noted, it is intolerable that we should introduce so much doubt where things are going well. However, the picture in this society is not as dark everywhere. Nevertheless, the loss of faith in one's own strength was grist to the mill of the groups with different goals from ours. Various centers in the world also wanted to show, with great noise and bad will, that Yugoslavia was not what it passed itself off as. They were even latching onto human rights. They were concerned about the rights and democracy of a few, but did not recognize the democracy of the millions in the working class, which, even in these exceptionally complex conditions, implemented self-management.

PROSPECTS FOR SHULTZ' MOSCOW VISIT, RELATIONS

LD131707 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 13 Nov 84

[Text] U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz will soon visit Moscow. At the same time the USSR and the United States have agreed to revive the work of the joint committee for trade cooperation. Commentary is by Milika Sundic:

[Sundic] All the indications are that U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz will pay a visit to Moscow next January. His meeting with Andrey Gromyko will signal the first USSR-U.S. contact at that level since Reagan's reelection as U.S. president. Shultz will probably also meet with Konstantin Chernenko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and general secreatry of the CPSU Central Committee, whose book, a selection of articles and speeches, has just been published in the United States with a preface in which Chernenko offers Reagan's administration the opening of a dialogue on an equal footing on relations between the two countries.

According to Soviet sources the Gromyko-Shultz talks will refer primarily to the question discussed by the two ministers at the end of September in Washington when Gromyko was received by President Reagan. In other words, Moscow still rules out the possibility of a return to Geneva talks on the reduction of strategic nuclear weapons on which the United States insists, but without committing itself to the removal of West European medium-range missiles whose installation began at the end of last year and on whose removal the USSR insists as the condition for the return of its negotiators to Geneva.

Of course, the problem of reducing nuclear weapons, regardless of the difference in the views, can hardly be avoided during the Gromyko-Shultz talks. This is the key question of USSR-U.S. relations, but it is to be wondered whether in the wake of Reagan's reelection any changes can be expected in the stands of the United States and of the USSR. There have been no intimations of any kind regarding this matter so far, at least not during Reagan's vague statement that during the mandate ahead he will pay considerable attention to the reduction of the volume of nuclear arms and to relations with the USSR.

Despite that, foreign observers agree in their assessment that something will improve in Soviet-U.S. relations. There is the general feeling that both sides aspire to it to an equal extent. The proof of this is in the agreement of the two countries to again revive in January the negotiations on trade cooperation. This will be the first meeting of the Soviet-U.S. Committee for Trade since 1979, that is, since the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan when the United States suspended the joint committee set up by the two countries the previous year. The volume of trade cooperation between the United States and the USSR is not more than $2.5 billion, two-thirds of which is Soviet purchases of cereals and other U.S. agricultural produce. The people in the United States do not expect a major increase in the volume of trade cooperation -- apart from other things because there is still an embargo on the deliveries of many goods in which the USSR is interested. However, the mere fact that a trade delegation is coming to Moscow means a great deal for relations between the two countries. The fact that the arrival of the U.S. trade delegation will most likely coincide with the intimated visit by Shultz to the USSR can only mean that something is changing in relations between Moscow and Washington, and that new moves can be expected in the months to come in both directions.

ASSESSMENT OF ELECTION IMPLICATIONS CONTINUES

AU132127 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10-11 Nov 84 p 13

[Vlado Teslic commentary in "Week in the World" column: "Even Better Than the Olympic Games"]

[Excerpts] "Four more years, 4 more years...," a choir of President Reagan's supporters chanted, while ritually stamping in the style of Indians in the huge hall of the luxurious Central Plaza Hotel in Los Angeles -- the new shrine of the American Republicans. Naturally, this was an ideal opportunity for the "great communiator" to act out, both in picture and sound, his most successful role not far from the greatest factory of illusions. The appropriate, fragmented speech for this occasion sparkled with comments from the American football fields, with some remarks about peace and disarmament in order to demonstrate statesmanship, and with much patriotic stress on inimitable America, something that kept the gathered masses in a delirium. "This is even better than the Olympic Games," an enthusiastic choir leader remarked, and this was noted, not without cynicism, by a British reporter.

Unknown America

Everything points to 4 more identical Reagan years. However, the gist of the matter is much deeper, and there are few who deal with it. Has not America deeply turned toward the waters of domestic conservatism and nationalism, or rather, to outside interventionism from the positions of its strength? Is not what is involved a course that does not coincide only with Ronald Reagan's term of office, but that will, very probably, last longer than 4 years?

In America, therefore, great socioeconomic shifts have occurred that favor everything that Reagan, the "moral majority," and the entire conservative right preach and whose message is: "Are you better off than 4 years ago?" Over 20 million blacks and as many poor, white people estimated that they are not better off, the majority of Jews supported Democrats for their own, or rather Israeli, reasons, but this was not enough for an electoral victory in the euphoria of the slogan of neocapitalist liberalism and conservatism that reads: "We never had it so good," a slogan first launched by the "pope" of conservatism, Harold MacMillan, in an attempt to revise all achievements of social democracy and its "state of prosperity."

American conservatism is a great unknown factor that is based not only on idealism and a complex of nationalism and greatness, but also on the development of new productive forces about which little is known. It appears that the focus is on military industry and technology directed toward destructive weapons, something that, in the final analysis, also vitally decides American foreign policy.

Crisis Also After Elections

The absence of an economic program and his proposal, formulated after his victory, to meet with Chernenko for talks on arms control show how uncertain Reagan is in regards to the future. An economic program certainly cannot be made up for by promises such as "America's best days are only coming," or "You ain't seen nothing yet" (nothing perhaps of what is to follow).

It is obvious that Reagan cannot afford to have "4 more years" of the same and that he must change something. In which direction? This is the greatest unknown factor and this is the basic characteristic of these elections; not Reagan's convincing victory, which was expected and which, in the final analysis, is not that convincing, because Reagan won only 59 percent of the votes cast by a little more than half of those Americans eligible to vote.

What does the invitation to serious talks with Moscow mean if it is not accompanied by readiness not only for arms control, but also for a change in policy? Moscow will certainly not avoid talks, but nothing indicates that the two sides are ready for agreements, too.

To solve crises, therefore, much more is needed than just winning another term.

The first alarming reaction of Washington to the Nicaraguan elections, which Washington "does not recognize," even though these elections were as democratic as those in the United States although the Sandinistas won proportionally more votes than the Republicans, is also alarming. The military pressure on Nicaragua's independence and sovereignty illustrates best the problem that the world faces. Uncertainly is also great in other crisis areas, and this shows that the problem does not lie only in elections.

Possible Moves Considered

AU130912 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Nov 84 p 2

[Jurij Gustincic commentary: "Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow".]

[Excerpts] It is a long time since such uncertainty and, for this reason, all the greater interest has prevailed as to what the American foreign policy will be like now, at the beginning of Reagan's second term in the White House.

This is not difficult to explain. In his first 4 years, the American President cannot boast of any decisive undertaking in the international arena. In this way he differs not only from Nixon, who started his second term under the flag of detente, but also from Eisenhower, who was no stranger to moves of "summit" diplomacy in relations with the Soviet Union, and also in regional crises.

Inevitably one primarily thinks of the freeze in relations between superpowers. Reagan has had no summit meeting with the Soviets, only preelection talk with Andrey Gromyko. Judging by all indications, this meeting, too, ended without any noticeable breakthrough. Relations between the two superpowers, as is said in a stereotype way, have fallen to the lowest level in their history.

There can be no doubt that, on the basis inherited from Carter, Reagan has succeeded in making a strong dollar and he has raised the dollar interest rate on a pedestal as the current arbiter of world finances. This is no small thing. Nonetheless, what does one do with this? Where does the road lead from this strong basis upon which Reagan's electoral victory rests?

As regards international-political matters, Reagan's attitude toward his superpartner passed through two stages and is also today characterized by two vital components.

The President is an ideologue who takes an ideological attitude toward the other greatest power; but because of the very nature of this ideological conflict, he must be suspicious, intolerant, and provocative.

There also exists another component. Let us return to the dollar, America's economic stability, and the well-known premise of Reaganism that the goal is to achieve a "position of strength." Guessing about the immediate future is then somewhat easier.

Many people and also the Soviets viewed the position of strength simply, if not also erroneously, exclusively from the angle of military competition. Reagan, however, has achieved his position of strength. This is a political and economic position. When then, from his point of view, should moves toward negotiations not begin?

Will this also happen this way? When Chernenko, before the American elections -- Moscow is also obviously carefully studying the lessons of these elections -- offered America four possible variants for talks, and without the condition which had been behind Moscow's refusal to return to Geneva -- the withdrawal of Euromissiles -- the Americans saw a televised foreign political discussion between the two candidates in which neither even mentioned Chernenko's proposals.

Reagan can now allow himself to be a statesman and not only a politician-ideologist. Moreover, it would be illogical for him not to try something in the field of negotiations, if he wanted to do this from the "position of strength." For, if he does not do this, then the world would doubt his ability to create such a position.

The irony is in the fact that much less is known about what American politics will do in those questions that are more rarely mentioned but which are also vital, although they are not linked most directly to the relations between the two superpowers.

Can we expect a new gesture of attentiveness like the one that Reagan demonstrated at the North-South meeting in Cancun? Will he give a chance to the "undesired" left-wingers of Central America? Will he be more tolerant toward those allies who want a more rapid move toward detente or who do not want to subordinate themselves to military consolidations?

A single example: Can Reagan's America accept Spain's refusal to join the NATO military structure with the calm that is a virtue of a really strong country?

Yesterday, this looked problematic; today, it is not known; tomorrow, it is covered by clouds of suspicion and...hopes. It is customary to grant a "honeymoon" of well-intentioned expectation to an important personage when elected or reelected to his post, or to "present him with a pawn" so that he can more easily make a good move.

The U.S. President is now in such a position that he can allow himself not to do anything, or to do at least a little. The world today gladly presents him with a "pawn," in the hope that he will do what he neglected to do yesterday and what is still not happening today.

LCY STUDY DELEGATION LEAVES FOR MOSCOW

LD121345 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1257 GMT 12 Nov 84

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Nov (TANJUG) -- An LCY study delegation led by Ilijaz Kurtesi, member of the LCY Central Committee, left for the USSR today. The delegation also includes Radisa Gacic, secretary of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium. The visit is taking place within the framework of the program of cooperation between the LCY and the CPSU. During its visit to the USSR the Yugoslav delegation will acquaint itself with the CPSU activity in the sphere of further development of the political system. At Belgrade airport the delegation was seen off by Svetislav Popovic, member of the LCY Central Committee Commission for International Cooperation, and Rajko Djuricanin, head of the section for political systems of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

BATINA MILITARY OPERATION COMMEMORATED

LD111754 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1120 GMT 11 Nov 84

[Excerpts] Batina, 11 Nov (TANJUG) -- A rally of war veterans, young people, and working people and citizens of Vojvodina, Croatia, and from all the parts of our country, held on the scene of the Batina battle on the left bank of the Danube near Bezdan today, formally marked the 40th anniversary of one of the most important joint operations of the units of the Yugoslav People's Army -- the 51st Shock Brigade -- and of the units of the Red Army, which were part of the Third Ukrainian Front. The rally was attended by Yugoslav members of this epic battle on the banks of the Danube, a delegation of Soviet veterans, and the delegations from the federation, republics, and provinces. Ali Sukrija, Radovan Vlajkovic, Sinan Hasani, Petar Gracanin, Dusan Alimpic, Mika Spiljak, Dusan Ckrebic, Nandor Major, Bosko Krunic, and other prominent personalities of the sociopolitical life of our country were among the people taking part. The memories of the bloody battle to establish the bridgeheads and to take the right bank of the Danube and the Beli Manastir isthmus were revived today by Colonel General Petar Matic-Dule, a member of the Presidum of the LCY Central Committee.

A telegram was sent from the rally to the SFRY Presidency and to the LCY Central Committee.

MESSAGE NOTES OAU'S 'IRREPLACEABLE' ROLE

LD132300 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1825 GMT 13 Nov 84

[Text] Belgrade, November 13 (TANJUG) -- The Yugoslav Presidency today expressed the conviction that the summit of the Organization of African Unity in Addis Ababa will make an important contribution towards the settlement and surmounting of the problems facing the African countries, specially in their struggle against colonialism and other forms of subjugation and domination, and for their free and independent social and economic development. This was stated in a telegram sent by President of the Yugoslav Presidency Veselin Djuranovic to all the participants of the current 20th OAU summit and its chairman, Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere.

The telegram also underlines OAU's irreplaceable role in the efforts of the African peoples to deal with the complex problems of their continent by themselves and without outside interference. The Yugoslav Presidency also emphasizes the contribution which a success of the Addis Ababa summit could give to the strengthening of unity of the Non-aligned Movement and its more vigorous activity in international relations.